



# International Labour Conference

---

NINETEENTH SESSION  
GENEVA, 1935

---

## UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG PERSONS

---

Third Item on the Agenda



GENEVA  
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

---

1935

# INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

## BRANCH OFFICES

- China:** Mr CHENG HAI-FONG, 868 Bubbling Well Road (No 109), Shanghai ("Interlab, Shanghai", *Tel* 30 251), or International Labour Office (Nanking Branch), Ta Tsang Yuen, Ho Hwa Tong, Nanking (*Tel* 22 983)
- France:** Mr MARIO ROQUES, 205 Boulevard St-Germain, Paris VII<sup>e</sup>. ("Interlab, Paris 120", *Tel* Littré 92-02)
- Great Britain:** Mr M R K BURGE, 12 Victoria Street, London, S W 1. ("Interlab, Sowest, London", *Tel* Victoria 2859)
- India:** Mr P P PILIAI, International Labour Office (Indian Branch), New Delhi ("Interlab, New Delhi"; *Tel* 3191)
- Italy:** Mr A CABRINI, Villa Aldobrandini, Via Panisperna 28, Rome. ("Interlab, Rome", *Tel* 61 498)
- Japan:** Mr J ASARI, International Labour Office (Tokyo Office), Shisei Kaikan Building, Hibiya Park, Kojimachiku, Tokyo ("Kokusairodo, Tokyo"; *Tel* Ginza 1580)
- United States:** Mr L MAGNUSSON, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D C ("Interlab, Washington", *Tel* District 8736)

## NATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS

- Argentine Republic:** Mr RAOUL MIGONR, Escritorio No 460, de la Bolsa de Comercio, Calles 25 de Mayo y Sarmiento, Buenos Ayres ("Interlab, Buenos Ayres", *Tel* Rivadavia [37] 1001)
- Austria:** Mr FRANZ WLCEK, Ungargasse 50, Vienna III (*Tel* R 28 500)
- Belgium:** Mr M GOTTSCHALK, Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Park Léopold, Brussels (*Tel* 33 74 86)
- Brazil:** Mr S DE SOUZA, Rua das Laranjeiras 279, Rio de Janeiro ("Interlab, Rio", *Tel* 5 0868)
- Czechoslovakia:** Mr OTAKAR SULIK, Pankrac 853, Prague XIV ("Interlab, Prague", *Tel* 575-82)
- Estonia:** Mr A GUSTAVSON, Uus Sadama 11-a, Tallinn ("Gustavson, Merikodu, Tallinn")
- Germany:** Mr WILHELM CLAUSSEN, Kurfurstenstrasse 105, II, Berlin W 62. ("Claussen, B-4-3169, Berlin", *Tel* B 4 [Bavaria] 3169)
- Hungary:** Mr GEZA PAP, Lánchíd-utca 2, Budapest I
- Latvia:** Mr KARLIS SERZANS, Skolas Iela 28, Riga ("Tautlab, Riga-Latvia")
- Lithuania:** Mr K STRIMAITIS, Zemaiciu 71, Kaunas (*Tel* 32-31)
- Poland:** M<sup>me</sup> FRANÇOIS SOKAL, Ul Bi Ladyslawia 12, Warsaw ("Interlab, Warsaw")
- Rumania:** Mr G VLADESCO RAGOASSA, Piatza Al Lahovary Ia, Bucharest III (*Tel* 231-95)
- Spain:** Mr A FABRA RIBAS, Apartado 3032, Madrid. ("Interlab, Madrid", *Tel* 30 846)
- Yugoslavia:** Mr L STEINITZ, Postanka, Beogradak 561, Belgrade. ("Interlab, Belgrade")

International Labour Conference

---

NINETEENTH SESSION  
GENEVA, 1935

---

**UNEMPLOYMENT  
AMONG YOUNG PERSONS**

---

Third Item on the Agenda

---

GENEVA  
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

---

1935

---

PRINTED BY ALBERT KUNDIG — GENEVA

---

# CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I	
CHAPTER I <i>Statistics of Unemployed Young Persons</i>	3
§ 1 Demographic Factors	3
§ 2 The Extent of Unemployment among Young Persons	6
§ 3 Definition and Methods of Recording the Unemployment of Young Persons	18
Returns of Public Employment Exchanges or Unem- ployment Insurance Institutions	19
General Population Censuses	20
Special Enquiries	21
§ 4 Conclusions	21
CHAPTER II <i>The School-Leaving Age and the Age of Admission to         Employment</i>	24
Conclusions	62
CHAPTER III <i>General Education, Vocational Training and Social         Service for Young Unemployed Persons</i>	64
Conclusions	88
CHAPTER IV <i>Productive Occupation for Unemployed Young Persons</i>	90
Conclusions	121
Appendix I Standard Time-Tables for Employment Centres in Different Countries	123
Appendix II Courses for Camp Leaders and Instructors	124
CHAPTER V <i>Placing and the Development of Possibilities of Normal         Employment</i>	128
§ 1 The Placing of Young Persons	128
§ 2 Adjustment and Development of the Possibilities of Normal Employment	137
§ 3 Conclusions	153
CONSULTATION OF GOVERNMENTS	155

## PART II

### DRAFT INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS

I	Commentary on Proposed Draft	161
II	Draft Recommendation concerning Unemployment among Young Persons	182
III.	Draft Resolution	188

---



## INTRODUCTION

---

The problem of unemployment among young persons has always claimed the attention of the International Labour Office, but the impulse to consider the expediency of international regulations on the subject was given by a proposal made by the Socialist Youth International on 23 August 1932. This suggestion was submitted to the Governing Body at its Session in October of the same year, but when the agenda of the 1934 Session of the Conference was decided upon in February 1933 the question of unemployment among young persons failed to secure a majority of the votes of the Governing Body, which considered that other problems were either more urgent or riper for international regulation. In October 1933, however, the Governing Body reconsidered the matter and decided to place the question of unemployment among young persons on the agenda of the Nineteenth Session of the Conference.

At the same time, in taking this decision the Governing Body considered that, in view of the urgency of the problem and the possibility of dealing with it by means of a Recommendation rather than a Draft Convention, the Nineteenth Session of the Conference should be given an opportunity either to consider it by way of a preliminary discussion, in accordance with the usual double-discussion procedure, or, if it so preferred, to proceed to a single and final discussion at the Session itself. In the first case, the Conference would have to prepare the outline of a Questionnaire which would be circulated afterwards to Governments for consulting them as to the form and contents of international regulations to be decided on at the following Session. In the second case, the Nineteenth Session itself would take a final decision in the form of international regulations without the intermediate consultation of Governments. For this purpose, the Governing Body authorised the Office to submit to the Nineteenth Session a report which would provide the Conference with a basis for taking whichever of these two courses it may think fit to adopt.

The present Report accordingly takes the form of a Grey-Blue Report, Part I, which contains the material normally included in



a Grey Report prepared for a preliminary discussion, sets out the law and practice in the different countries and concludes with a list of points suggested as a basis for a Questionnaire Part II, on the other hand, on the analogy of a Blue Report prepared for a final discussion, contains proposals for international regulations in the form of a Recommendation (accompanied by a draft Resolution) which the Nineteenth Session can take into consideration in the event of its considering it preferable to proceed to a final decision rather than a preliminary discussion In accordance with the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, Part I of this Report was submitted for the approval of the Governing Body at its Sixty-eighth Session in September 1934

---

# PART I

---

## CHAPTER I

### STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PERSONS

---

Before considering the steps taken to combat unemployment among young persons in different countries, some particulars may usefully be given of the extent of the evil. At the present time any attempt at a statistical estimate of the number of young workers lacking employment is fraught with the greatest practical difficulties. The inadequacy of general unemployment statistics, which is in some cases considerable, is aggravated by special difficulties peculiar to young workers, with the result that the fragmentary statistics available for a certain number of countries are incomplete and difficult of comparison.

#### § 1 — Demographic Factors

The supply of young workers available for employment is naturally affected by the general development of the population. There can be no doubt that the tendency towards a higher average age in the population, observable in all the countries inhabited by white races and due to the combined effects of a progressive fall in both the birth-rate and the death-rate, ultimately brings about changes in the age distribution of the occupied population, but these changes in the structure of the population, although obviously extremely important for future economic and social developments, are not a very significant factor in an analysis of the present situation of the labour market for young persons. The same cannot, however, be said of certain other factors, the influence of which, though confined to the space of a few years, may be strong enough to warrant attention in considering this

subject A case in point is that of the population changes due to the world war, which led in the belligerent countries to a considerable fall in the birth rate between 1915 and 1918, followed by an abnormal increase in 1919 and 1920 Thus, from this point of view, the years 1915 to 1920 represent an exceptional period, the repercussions of which were felt on the labour market some fourteen or fifteen years later The war-time fall in the birth-rate had the effect of reducing the supply of juvenile labour between the years 1929 and 1933, or 1930 and 1934, according to the usual minimum age of admission to employment, whereas during 1934 and 1935 (or 1935 and 1936) the influx of young persons of 14 or 15 years on the labour market exceeded or will exceed the normal

It has been estimated that in comparison with 1914, the total number of births in 1915-1919 fell short of what might have been anticipated by over 2 millions in Germany, about 1,100,000 in France, and about 865,000 in Great Britain, and these figures also represent the reduction in the supply of juvenile labour available during the years 1929 to 1933 Certain writers assumed that the effect of these factors on the labour market would be very considerable, a German economist having gone so far as to predict that unemployment would be non-existent in Germany from 1933 to 1937, and that there would even be a shortage of labour in certain occupations such as agriculture and mining<sup>1</sup>

The fact that during the "lean" years of 1929 to 1933 there has been no apparent improvement on the labour market proportionate to the fall in the birth-rate during the war is due to other influences which have obscured the demographic movement and counteracted its effects Without going into this question in detail, it may be pointed out that the movement of the occupied population of a country does not necessarily follow that of its total population, so that estimates made on the basis of demographic tendencies may be falsified by other unforeseen phenomena

The year 1934 was the first in which there was an appreciable increase in the supply of juvenile labour due to the sharp rise in the birth-rate during 1919 and 1920 Adequate statistics are not yet available to permit of an exact appreciation of this phenomenon, but as regards Great Britain an estimate of the number of juveniles between 14 and 17 years of age at present available for employment or due to become so during the next few years is given below The

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr STRUNDEN "Geburtenausfall und Arbeitsmarkt", in *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 24 Nov 1925, II

estimate is based on the hypothesis that the percentage of juveniles available for employment during the period covered will be the same as in 1931<sup>1</sup>, and that mortality rates will remain substantially unchanged and that emigration will be negligible

GREAT BRITAIN ESTIMATED NUMBER OF JUVENILES LIKELY TO BE AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN, AT THE END OF THE YEARS SPECIFIED BELOW

(In thousands)

Year	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years	Total
1931	309	493	579	687	2,068
1932	308	428	560	646	1,942
1933	332	426	487	627	1,872
1934	460	462	487	544	1,953
1935	411	638	525	542	2,116
1936	382	571	727	586	2,226
1937	369	528	649	811	2,357
1938	358	513	601	726	2,198
1939	347	496	584	672	2,099
1940	344	481	565	652	2,042
1941	327	477	548	630	1,982
1942	330	453	543	612	1,938
1943	324	457	516	605	1,902
1944	327	450	520	575	1,872
1945	315	454	512	580	1,861

According to this table, the estimated supply of juveniles 14 years of age began to show a certain increase in 1933. In 1934 this increase becomes much more evident in this age group and also spreads to the following group (15 years). The other two groups (16 and 17 years) are still small, but the total number of juveniles 14 to 17 years of age seeking employment nevertheless shows a slight increase for the year 1934. The increase will become more marked during the coming years and will reach its peak in 1937, decreasing again in subsequent years.

It is obvious that if other age groups besides those given in the table, i.e. those up to 24 or 25 years, were also taken into consideration, the effect of the "lean" and "fat" years on the number of young workers available for employment would be traceable over a considerably longer period.

A similar estimate made by the German Institute of Business Research some years ago showed the probable number of young persons from 15 to 20 years available for employment from 1928 to 1938. The following are the estimated figures

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Labour Gazette, Oct. 1934

GERMANY ESTIMATED NUMBER OF YOUNG PERSONS FROM 15 TO 20 YEARS  
AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT

Year	Number in millions	Percentage of 1928
1928	6 4	100
1929	6 3	99
1930	6 2	97
1931	5 8	91
1932	5 3	83
1933	4 6	73
1934	4 0	63
1935	3 8	60
1936	4 1	65
1937	4 7	73
1938	5 2	81

This table shows a steady decrease in the number of young persons from 15 to 20 years from 1929 until 1935, when their number is expected to be scarcely 60 per cent of the 1928 figure. From 1936 onwards the number is expected to rise rapidly, reaching 81 per cent of the 1928 figure in 1938<sup>1</sup>

## § 2 — The Extent of Unemployment among Young Persons

The increasing importance of the problems to which unemployment among young persons gives rise and the necessity of taking steps to combat its effects have led in several countries to investigations into the extent of such unemployment. Some particulars are given below based on the data obtained in various countries during the past few years through special enquiries or periodical returns of employment and unemployment.

*Austria* — There are no general statistics for Austria showing the volume of juvenile unemployment, but an enquiry carried out by the *Jugend am Werk* Association and covering 1,887 unemployed young people enrolled in labour brigades organised in Vienna from 1 August 1932 to the end of May 1933 provides certain particulars as to the age, occupational record, length of unemployment, etc., of the young workers concerned.<sup>2</sup>

These 1,887 young unemployed workers comprised 1,432 youths and 455 (24 per cent) girls. As regards their age distribution, 12 per cent were between 15 and 18 years, 50 per cent between 19 and 21 years, and 38 per cent over 21 years of age. 168 of these young people had not had a job at all since they left school and had not learned a trade, 1,424 of the whole number (1,248 youths and 176 girls) were skilled workers, and 463 (184 youths and 279 girls) unskilled, including those without any occupation.

<sup>1</sup> *Berliner Tageblatt*, 20 July 1934.

<sup>2</sup> *Lehrlingsschutz, Jugend und Berufshilfe*, 1933, No. 7-8.

Classified according to the length of their previous employment, the 1,424 skilled workers were distributed as follows

Employment in months	Boys	Girls
None	86	39
2 and under	49	12
3 to 4	290	26
5 to 9	241	28
10 to 12	138	14
13 to 24	246	18
25 to 36	104	19
Over 36	94	20
Total	1,248	176

The duration of unemployment for all the young persons covered by the enquiry varied as follows

Weeks	Boys	Girls
10 and under	71	34
11 to 135	1,213	388
136 to 210	128	27
211 to 520	20	6
Total	1,432	455

*Belgium* — According to the returns of the unemployment insurance societies, in the autumn of 1933 the number of unemployed young persons 16 to 20 years of age was 39,850, of whom 20,000 were wholly unemployed and 19,850 partly unemployed. If allowance is also made for uninsured juveniles, who do not figure in the returns of the societies, the total number of unemployed young persons may be estimated at 70,000 to 80,000<sup>1</sup>

*Czechoslovakia* — Enquiries into unemployment among young persons carried out by the Ministry of Social Welfare in July 1932 and February 1933 gave the following results<sup>2</sup>

	Total number unem- ployed	Unemployed young persons				
		14-18 years	19-20 years	21-24 years	Total	Percentage of total unem- ployment
July 1932	328,891	10,234	23,266	47,775	80,275	24.4
February 1933	497,805	—	—	—	113,471	22.8

*Denmark* — An enquiry into the distribution of the unemployed by age and by sex carried out by the employment exchanges on 5 May 1933 at the request of the Ministry of Social Welfare gave the following results

Age group	Men	Women	Total
18-22 years	16,500	2,734	19,234
23-25 years	15,422	1,616	17,038
26 years and over	82,623	10,412	93,035
Total	114,545	14,762	129,307

<sup>1</sup> Statement made by Senator Renard in the Belgian Senate, 15 May 1934

<sup>2</sup> Statement by the Minister of Social Welfare before the Budget Committee of the Senate, 13 Dec 1933 (*Nar Osvobození*, 14 Dec 1933)

According to these returns, the total number of unemployed between 18 and 25 years represents 28.1 per cent of all the registered unemployed. Unemployed young men form 27.9 per cent of all unemployed males and unemployed young women 29.3 per cent of all unemployed females.<sup>1</sup>

*Finland* — At the request of the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Social Research Office undertook in October 1933 an enquiry into the extent of unemployment among young persons.<sup>2</sup> According to the figures returned by local authorities, there were in 226 areas (29 towns and 197 rural districts) 15,510 unemployed workers between 16 and 25 years of age, 7,365 of whom were in the towns and 8,145 in the country. This figure represents over one-third of all unemployment in Finland. The following table shows the distribution of these unemployed persons in the towns by sex and by age group.

Age group	Youths	Girls	Total
16-20 years	1,946	1,350	3,296
21-25 years	2,832	1,237	4,069
Total	4,778	2,587	7,365

GERMANY UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PERSONS REGISTERED WITH THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES ON 16 JUNE 1933

Age group	Young men		Young women		Total	
	Number	Percentage of all unemployed	Number	Percentage of all unemployed	Number	Percentage of all unemployed
WORKERS UNEMPLOYED						
17 years and under	79,826	2.2	59,037	7.2	138,863	3.1
18-24 years	771,555	21.2	211,935	26.0	983,490	22.1
Total	851,381	23.4	270,972	33.2	1,122,353	25.2
SALARIED EMPLOYEES UNEMPLOYED						
17 years and under	8,181	2.0	19,423	9.4	27,604	4.5
18-24 years	82,277	20.6	85,199	41.1	167,476	27.6
Total	90,458	22.6	104,622	50.5	195,080	32.1
WORKERS AND SALARIED EMPLOYEES UNEMPLOYED						
17 years and under	88,007	2.2	78,460	7.7	166,467	3.3
18-24 years	853,832	21.2	297,134	29.0	1,150,966	22.8
Total	941,839	23.4	375,594	36.7	1,317,433	26.1

<sup>1</sup> *Socialt Tidsskrift*, 1933, No. 6

<sup>2</sup> *Sosialinen Aikakaushirja*, 1933, No. 11

*Germany* — On 16 June 1933, the Federal Office for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance undertook an enquiry<sup>1</sup> into the number of unemployed workers registered with the employment exchanges at that date. The enquiry also covered young persons who had left school and had applied to the vocational guidance services for posts as apprentices. The result of this enquiry, 'so far as the unemployment of young persons is concerned, is shown in the table on page 8.

These figures, particularly those relating to salaried employees, show a much higher percentage of unemployment among young women than among young men. This is easily explained by the fact that, as many women give up their work to get married, the lower age groups are relatively larger among women than among men workers.

The enquiry also throws light on the relation between the total number of workers and the number of unemployed workers in the different age groups. Comparing the percentage of occupied young workers furnished by the occupational census of 1925 with the percentage of young persons unemployed shown by this enquiry, it appears that the proportion of young unemployed persons to the total number of unemployed is less than the proportion of young occupied persons to the whole occupied population. Whereas young persons under 25 years of age represented 42.3 per cent of all workers, young unemployed workers of the same group formed only 26.1 per cent of all the unemployed. For juveniles of 17 and under, the corresponding figures were respectively 14.5 and 3.3 per cent, and for the age group of 18 to 24 years, 27.8 and 22.8 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

A similar enquiry a year later (16 June 1934) gave the following results<sup>3</sup>

WORKERS AND SALARIED EMPLOYEES UNEMPLOYED

Age group	Young men		Young women		Total	
	Number	Per-centage of all unem-ployed	Number	Per-centage of all unem-ployed	Number	Per-centage of all unem-ployed
17 years and under	67,264	3.1	67,904	12.6	135,168	5.0
18-24 years	279,355	13.0	93,341	17.3	372,696	13.8
Total	346,619	16.1	161,245	29.9	507,864	18.8

<sup>1</sup> REICHSANSTALT FÜR ARBEITSVERMITTLUNG UND ARBEITSLOSENVFRSICHERUNG *Stand der Arbeitslosigkeit am 16. Juni 1933 nach den Meldungen der Arbeitsämter*, Oct. 1933.

<sup>2</sup> According to this enquiry the age group in which unemployment is most severe is that of 25 to 40 years, the proportion of unemployed persons to the total number of unemployed being 44.1 per cent, while the proportion of employed persons to the whole occupied population is 30.7 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> *Wochenbericht des Instituts für Konjunkturforschung*, 12 Sept. 1934.



The following table shows the changes that occurred in the distribution of the unemployed by age groups between 16 June 1933 and 16 June 1934

Age group	Percentage of all unemployed persons					
	Men		Women		Total	
	1933	1934	1933	1934	1933	1934
17 years and under	2 2	3 1	7 7	12 6	3 3	5 0
18-24 years	21 2	13 0	29 0	17 3	22 8	13 8
25-39 "	45 2	46 9	39 6	39 9	44 1	45 6
40-59 "	27 5	32 4	22 0	28 3	26 4	31 6
60-64 "	3 1	3 7	1 4	1 5	2 7	3 2
65 years and over	0 8	0 9	0 3	0 4	0 7	0 8
	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0

This comparison shows that the ratio of young unemployed persons from 18 to 24 years to the total number of registered unemployed has fallen considerably. At the same time, the ratio of all the other age groups to the total has increased. It might therefore be concluded that the decrease in unemployment as a whole during the year in question had been particularly marked among young persons of from 18 to 24 years and that members of this age group had been given preference when new workers were being taken on.

But such a conclusion overlooks the fact that from July 1933 onwards young persons enrolled in the labour service (recruited entirely from among persons from 18 to 25 years of age) are no longer considered as unemployed, although there has been no real change in their economic situation. In order to arrive at the real decrease in unemployment in the age group 18 to 24 years, one must deduct from the nominal decrease of 778,270 about 220,000 persons—the average annual strength of the labour service. This would mean that 558,000 persons had actually been restored to employment, so that unemployment would have declined by about 48·5 per cent, as compared with 1933 (instead of 67·6 per cent when the labour service is not deducted), whereas in the next age group (25 to 39 years) there was a reduction of 49·9 per cent and in the next (40 to 59 years), a decline of 36·1 per cent. This reduces the changes in the distribution of unemployment over the various age groups to much more modest proportions.<sup>1</sup>

*Great Britain* — The returns of the employment exchanges at 22 October 1934 gave the following figures for juveniles (14 to 17 years of age) registered with the exchanges

	Juveniles, 14-15 years	Juveniles, 16-17 years	Total 14-17 years
Boys	32,458	31,037	63,495
Girls	29,381	21,078	50,459

<sup>1</sup> Further reference is made to this question of the distribution of employment and unemployment over different age groups in Chapter V, pp 139-140

As regards juveniles of 16 and 17 years old the following figures are available <sup>1</sup>

	Number of insured in July 1934 (16-17 years)	Percentage of unemployed at 22 October 1934		
		Wholly unemployed	Temporarily stopped	Total
Boys	470,600	4.4	1.0	5.4
Girls	370,300	3.9	0.8	4.7

The rate of unemployment among juveniles (14-17) has remained at about one-third of the adult rate

A special enquiry covering a sample of 5 per cent of unemployed juveniles, insured and uninsured, under 18 years of age at 16 February 1931 gave the following information as to age distribution <sup>2</sup>

PERCENTAGE OF JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years	Total (14-17 years)
Boys	17.9	9.6	25.2	47.3	100
Girls	21.9	11.8	24.8	41.5	100

Insured unemployed juveniles 16 years of age represented some 5 per cent of insured workers of the same age, while for those 17 years of age the proportion was about 10 per cent

Of all the juveniles covered by this enquiry, 15 per cent of the boys and 21 per cent of the girls had never had jobs

As regards those who had already had jobs, the following table shows the instability of their employment

Jobs held	Percentage	
	Boys	Girls
1 job	33	39
2 jobs	26	28
3 jobs	17	16
4 jobs or more	24	17
	100	100

At the request of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, the Ministry of Labour made an analysis of the personal situation and occupational record of a sample of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the unemployed aged 18 years and upwards registered at the public employment exchanges on 2 February 1931. Its report gives the following data as regards the age distribution of the unemployed <sup>3</sup>

Age group	Percentage of total number unemployed in the sample		
	Men	Women	Total
18-20 years	7.9	15.6	9.8
21-24 years	14.7	22.4	16.5
Total	22.6	38.0	26.3

<sup>1</sup> *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, Nov 1934. These percentages are based on the numbers of juvenile unemployment books lodged at local offices, which exceed the numbers of insured juveniles on the Register and are consequently not the same as the figures used in the previous table

<sup>2</sup> Results published in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, Sept 1932

<sup>3</sup> ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE *Appendices of the Minutes of Evidence*, Part V, Appendix XXVII, pp 264 et seq. London, 1931

Young unemployed workers 18 to 24 years of age thus represented 26·3 per cent of all the unemployed aged 18 years and upwards, or 24·8 per cent of all those aged 14 years and upwards (21·6 per cent for males and 34·2 per cent for females). Adding to this figure the percentage of unemployed juveniles between 14 and 17 years of age, which was on the same date 5·4 per cent of all males and females unemployed (3·8 per cent for males and 10 per cent for females), a total of 30·2 per cent is obtained for unemployed workers between 14 and 24 years of age (25·4 per cent for males and 44·2 per cent for females).

The general census of April 1931 provided a basis for assessing the number of unemployed persons and classifying them by age, sex, occupation and civil status. The data concerning young unemployed persons of from 14 to 24 years are given below<sup>1</sup>.

Age groups	Males	Females	Total
14-15 years	22,852	18,060	40,912
16-17 years	57,125	43,387	100,512
18-20 years	133,538	81,530	215,068
21-24 years	228,338	98,951	327,289
14-24 years	441,853	241,928	683,781
Total number of unemployed of all ages over 14 years	1,967,140	557,374	2,524,514

The ratio of young unemployed persons from 14 to 24 years to the total number of unemployed persons over the age of 14 was 27·1 per cent (22·5 per cent for men and 43·4 per cent for women). These percentages do not differ greatly from those given in the current unemployment statistics quoted above.

It is interesting to note the extent of the difference between the census of the unemployed and the current statistics of juvenile unemployment. The two sets of figures for unemployed juveniles from 14 to 17 years of age are given below.

	Boys	Girls	Total
Figures supplied by employment exchanges (27 April 1931)*	70,888	57,547	128,435
Figures obtained from the census (April 1931)	79,977	61,447	141,424

\* The Ministry of Labour Gazette, May 1931.

This table shows that the difference between the data shown in the current statistics of juvenile unemployment and those obtained in the course of the census is comparatively slight.

<sup>1</sup> Census of England and Wales, Occupation Census of Scotland, Occupation 1931.

*Hungary* — A population census taken in 1930 showed that out of a total of 224,103 unemployed workers, there were 92,654 unemployed (41·3 per cent) under 25 years of age, of whom 34,629 (15·5 per cent) were under 20 years and 58,025 (25·8 per cent) from 20 to 24 years inclusive <sup>1</sup>

*Italy* — According to the statistics of the National Fascist Institute for Social Welfare, the following table shows the number of young persons drawing unemployment benefit in 1932 and the percentage they represent of all persons in receipt of benefit in 1929-1932 <sup>2</sup>

	Insured persons in receipt of benefit			Percentage of all persons in receipt of benefit				
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average		
15 to 19 years	67,025	75,492	142,517	11 13	22 93	15 30		
20 to 25 years	130,059	114,080	244,139	21 60	34 65	26 20		
15 to 25 years	197,084	189,572	386 656	32 73	57 58	41 50		
PIR 100 PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF BENEFIT								
	Men				Women			
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1929	1930	1931	1932
	12 50	12 60	12 65	11 13	23 12	23 30	24 09	22 93
	21 17	21 74	21 78	21 60	31 85	32 70	32 70	34 65

The proportion of all unemployed persons drawing unemployment benefit represented by young persons of both sexes was thus 41·5 per cent in 1932. This percentage was 32·7 among men, whereas it was as high as 57·6 among women. In Italy too, therefore, the rate of unemployment among young women appears to be considerably higher than that among young men.

*Japan* — The following table shows the number of young workers who applied to the public employment exchanges for jobs from 1930 to 1932

Year	Young workers 14-19 years *	Adult workers 20 years and over	Young workers as percentage of adult workers
1930	131,622	1,036,492	12·7
1931	212,854	1,153,307	18·5
1932	270,911	1,231,557	21·9

\* The statutory minimum age of admission to industrial employment is 14 years, but children over 12 years of age may be employed provided they have completed their elementary education, and some of these are probably included in the statistics

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Statistical Bulletin of Hungary, 34th year (1931), Nos 7 and 9*

<sup>2</sup> "Risultati di gestione dell'assicurazione obbligatoria contro la disoccupazione nel 1932," in *Sindacato e Corporazione*, Dec 1933

*Netherlands* — According to a report made by the principal employment exchanges, the number of unemployed juveniles at 10 October 1933 was as follows <sup>1</sup>

Under 18 years	7,359
18 to 25 years inclusive	48,804
Total	56,163

As the total number of unemployed workers of all ages registered with the principal employment exchanges in October 1933 was 202,636, young persons up to and including 25 years of age thus constitute some 27·8 per cent of all the unemployed

Unofficial estimates place the number of unemployed under 24 years in 1934 at between 70,000 and 100,000

*New Zealand* — According to an enquiry carried out by two Members of Parliament 3,044 boys figured on the unemployment registers at 30 September 1932 <sup>2</sup> This figure, however, probably falls short of the real number, as there is small practical inducement to register with the exchanges, especially for juveniles under 18 years of age

*Norway* — An enquiry carried out in 1933 showed that out of 75,000 unemployed workers 20,000, or about 27 per cent, were young persons between 18 and 24 years of age, about 7,000 of whom had never had a permanent job before becoming unemployed <sup>3</sup>

*Poland* — According to the returns of the public employment exchanges, out of 289,388 registered unemployed workers at the end of August 1934, 1,598 were juveniles between 15 and 18 years As registration with an employment exchange is no longer compulsory, practically the only young persons who register are those who have been in employment and may therefore have a claim to unemployment benefit Thus the figures for juvenile unemployment are much higher, but no precise information is available on this point

*Sweden* — An enquiry has shown that out of 170,203 unemployed workers registered with the Unemployment Committee at 30 November 1933, at least 57,412, or 33·7 per cent, belonged to the age groups between 16 and 25 years Among these, 30,608, or over 53 per cent, were in receipt of relief, 11,618 being employed on "reserve works", 3,204 attending courses for vocational training or performing voluntary labour service, and 15,786 receiving cash relief only

*Switzerland* — The statistics of unemployed workers registered with the public employment exchanges include particulars of the distribution of the unemployed by age groups twice a year The figures for the end of January 1934 are given below <sup>4</sup>

	Number of registered unemployed declaring their age	Young persons				Total	
		Under 20 years		20-24 years		Number	Per cent.
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
Males	40,754	1,312	3	4,599	11	5,911	14
Females	8,360	472	6	886	11	1,358	17
Total	49,114	1,784	4	5,485	11	7,269	15

<sup>1</sup> W HARTTOFF *Jeugd zonder werk*, 1934

<sup>2</sup> S G SMITH and A G ANSELL *Juvenile Unemployment* Parliamentary Paper H 35 B Wellington, 1933

<sup>3</sup> *Socialt Tidskrift*, 1933, No 6

<sup>4</sup> *La vie économique*, Sept 1934

*United States* — In connection with the fifteenth census of the population, a census of unemployment was taken in April 1930 <sup>1</sup>

The following table shows the census returns as regards the unemployment of young persons

	A Persons out of a job, able to work, and looking for a job			B Persons having jobs but not working nor receiving pay, excluding the sick and voluntarily idle		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
	NUMBER					
10 to 14 years	2,459	1,520	939	1,653	889	764
15 to 19 years	267,246	192,176	75,070	76,814	50,097	26,717
20 to 24 years	414,683	331,428	83,255	119,819	92,174	27,645
Total* of unem- ployed young persons	681,929	523,604	158,325	196,633	142,271	54,362
	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT					
10 to 14 years	0 1	0 1	0 3	0 2	0 1	0 6
15 to 19 years	11 0	9 3	20 3	10 1	8 0	20 4
20 to 24 years	17 1	16 1	22 5	15 8	14 7	21 1
Total <sup>1</sup> of per- centages	28 1	25 4	42 8	25 9	22 7	41 5

\* Excluding children 10 to 14 years of age

In Class A, which covers persons who are completely unemployed, unemployment of young persons amounted to 28·2 per cent of total unemployment. In Class B, which although including a certain number of persons working short time contains a great many persons who are in practically the same position as those in Class A, this percentage was 26·1. It is interesting to note that in the United States, as in other countries, the proportion of young women among all unemployed females is much higher than that of young men among unemployed males. Female unemployment is highest in the age groups of 15 to 19 years and 20 to 24 years, these two groups having a percentage of 20·3 and 22·5 respectively, as against only 13·6 per cent in the next group (25 to 29 years). Among men unemployment is highest in the group of 20 to 24 years (16·1 per cent), while the youngest age group (15 to 19 years) comes sixth with a percentage of 9·3, after the four groups comprising workers between 25 and 44 years of age.

\* \* \*

The statistics given above, although incomplete and not comparable from one country to another, afford sufficient illustration of the gravity of the problem of unemployment among young persons. It is of particular interest to note the proportion of young persons among all the unemployed recorded in the various countries. These percentages are given in the following table.

UNEMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS AS PERCENTAGE  
OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Country	Age group (years)	Date	Percentage		
			Total	Males	Females
Czechoslovakia	14-24	July 1932	24.6	—	—
		Feb 1933	22.8	—	—
Denmark	18-25	May 1933	28.1	27.9	29.3
Finland	16-25	Oct 1933	33.3	—	—
Germany	Up to 24	June 1933	26.1	23.4	36.7
		June 1934	18.8	16.1	29.9
Great Britain	14-24	1931	30.2	25.4	44.2
Hungary	Up to 24	1930	42.0	—	—
Italy	15-25	1932	41.5	32.7	57.6
Netherlands	Up to 25	Oct 1933	27.8	—	—
Norway	18-24	1933	27.0	—	—
Sweden	16-25	Nov 1933	33.7	—	—
Switzerland	Up to 24	July 1934	15.0	14.0	17.0
United States	15-24	April 1930	27.6 <sup>1</sup>	24.8 <sup>1</sup>	42.4 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Average obtained from totals of groups A and B (see page 15)

It would be unwise to draw any very definite conclusion from an international comparison of these figures. In the first place, the age groups covered vary from country to country, and in the second place the methods of compiling the statistics differ in ways which may, as will be shown later, affect the ratio of young unemployed persons to the total number of unemployed workers. All that can safely be drawn from the above table is a certain number of very general conclusions relating to the approximate rate of unemployment among young persons. One may say, for example, that the number of unemployed persons under the age of 25 is generally about one-quarter of the total number of unemployed persons of all ages. If, then, there are about 25 million unemployed in the world to-day, the number of those persons who are under the age of 25 is probably about 6 or 7 millions—a figure that clearly shows the great quantitative importance of the problem here dealt with.

Another very general conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing table is that unemployment among young persons forms a higher percentage of total unemployment among women than among men, the difference being sometimes a very substantial one (Germany, Great Britain, Italy, United States)

The explanation of this is to be sought not in a greater shrinkage in the demand for girls and young women on the labour market, but in the fact that in general young persons form a higher percentage of the occupied population among women than among men. In other words, the higher rate of unemployment among girls and young women is nothing but a direct consequence of the fact that there are more young persons among women workers than among men. There is really a very close agreement between the statistics of young persons available for employment and of unemployment among young persons of both sexes.

In Germany, for example, the general census of the population in 1925 showed that the number of young persons under 25 years of age in employment was 36.5 per cent of the occupied population in the case of males and 56 per cent in the case of females. It will be noted that the ratio of these two figures to each other (65 per cent) is very nearly the same as that shown in the above table for the proportion of young unemployed males and females (64 per cent)<sup>1</sup>. A similar situation has been observed in Great Britain and the United States. In the first of these countries, in 1931, the proportion of occupied persons under the age of 25 was 25.2 per cent in the case of males and 47 per cent for females, while the proportions unemployed were 25.4 per cent and 44.2 per cent. The parallelism is not so strongly marked in the United States, where the ratio of young persons under 25 to the whole occupied population in 1930 was 20.5 per cent for males and 37.3 per cent for females. The first of these figures is 55 per cent of the other, which is not far from the ratio of 59 per cent that existed between the unemployed of the two sexes. In general, then, unemployment has affected the young persons of the two sexes in more or less equal proportions.

Another question is whether young persons are more seriously affected by unemployment than workers as a whole, the available figures provide rather divergent replies. It has just been mentioned that in Great Britain, in 1931, the number of young persons unemployed as a percentage of the total number of unemployed was

---

<sup>1</sup> Enquiry of 1933



practically the same as the percentage of young persons in the occupied population. In the United States, in 1930, the proportion of young unemployed persons (25.7 per cent for males and 43.3 per cent for females) exceeded the proportion of young persons in the occupied population (20.5 and 37.3 per cent respectively). In Germany<sup>1</sup>, on the other hand, the proportion of young unemployed (23.4 per cent for men and 36.7 per cent for women) was decidedly lower than the proportion of young persons in the occupied population (36.5 and 56 per cent respectively). It must be borne in mind, however, that the German unemployment figures refer to 1933 and the census figures to 1925.

### § 3 — Definition and Methods of Recording the Unemployment of Young Persons

The more or less fragmentary data collected from seventeen countries and given in the preceding section all imply some definition of "young" unemployed persons—a fixing of the age limits covered by this term.

There would seem to be little difficulty in determining the lower age limit, which must be the minimum age for admission to employment. For statistical purposes, however, the logical definition is not always acceptable, allowance must be made for the practical possibilities of compiling the statistics. For this reason the data supplied by some countries omit young unemployed persons who have not reached a given age which is higher than the minimum for admission to employment. In Austria and Italy the statistics refer to persons over 15 years of age, in Belgium, Finland and Sweden 16 years, and in Denmark and Norway, 18 years. This obviously means regrettable lacunae in the data.

The selection of an upper limit is a more debatable point. It will be found, however, that the measures taken in certain countries to help the young unemployed, or the special obligations that have to be fulfilled by them and not by older persons, generally apply to persons under the age of 25 years. The same age would therefore seem to be a natural one to select as the upper age limit for statistical purposes. In some countries, however, the statistics concerning the young unemployed stop at a different age: 20 years in Belgium, 19 in Japan and 18 in Poland. In certain other countries the age groups considered go beyond the completion of

---

<sup>1</sup> Enquiry of 1933

the 24th year in Denmark, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden they go to the completion of the 25th year

As will be seen later, the measures taken to assist young unemployed persons are by no means applied equally to all up to the age of 25. A distinction is often made between juveniles under 18 years and young persons from 18 to 24 years. This distinction exists in the German statistics, which divide young unemployed persons into two groups under 18 and 18 to 24 years. In Great Britain, the present statistics distinguish three groups 14 to 17, 18 to 20, and 21 to 24 years. In other countries the break is at a different age. In Czechoslovakia, the groups are 14 to 18, 19 to 20, and 21 to 24, in Denmark, 18 to 22 and 23 to 25, in Finland, 16 to 20 and 21 to 25, in Italy, 15 to 19 and 20 to 25. in the Netherlands, up to 17 and 18 to 25, in Switzerland, up to 19 and 20 to 24, in the United States, 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 years.

The methods used to record the unemployment of young persons include (1) returns furnished by public employment exchanges or unemployment insurance institutions, (2) unemployment censuses taken in connection with general censuses of the population, and (3) special enquiries organised by the authorities, by social research institutes, or by private investigators.

#### RETURNS OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES OR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE INSTITUTIONS

The following countries base their statistics on the returns of public employment exchanges or unemployment insurance institutions. Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland and Switzerland. These statistics may be obtained from the periodical records kept by the public employment exchanges or from special enquiries carried out by the exchanges where the regular returns of registered unemployment do not include an age classification. Italy and Switzerland belong to the first group and Belgium, Denmark and Germany to the second, Great Britain belongs to both groups.

As a rule, employment exchange statistics do not include all unemployed persons available for employment. This leads to what sometimes amounts to a considerable discrepancy between these statistics and the results of censuses or special enquiries into unemployment, which often show a very much larger number of unemployed workers than are indicated by the current returns of the employment exchanges. The gaps in the unemployment

returns of the employment exchanges seem to be particularly serious in respect of juveniles. This is due to several causes, the most important being the special unemployment insurance system which is often applied to young workers, and which may strongly influence their attendance at employment exchanges. A further reason is that young workers, particularly those under 18 years of age, are often excluded from employment on public works organised by the authorities, a fact which removes one inducement for them to register at the exchanges, through which recruiting for employment on public works is normally effected.

The fact that juveniles are often subject to special conditions in unemployment insurance schemes may have a considerable influence on the unemployment statistics derived from the returns of the public employment exchanges or unemployment insurance institutions. The age of admission to unemployment insurance does not always coincide with the age of admission to employment, or else special conditions for the receipt of benefit are prescribed for juveniles. On the other hand, there are also among unemployed juveniles a great many boys and girls who have never had insurable employment or who have not been insured for long enough to qualify for unemployment benefit. Thus, unemployment insurance returns, which are on the whole considered to furnish the most reliable statistics of unemployment in countries in which a comprehensive scheme of unemployment benefit is in force, often have only a limited value for the estimation of juvenile unemployment.

### GENERAL POPULATION CENSUSES

Unemployment censuses taken in connection with periodical censuses of the population also provide an opportunity for measuring the unemployment of young persons. This opportunity does not seem to have been grasped in all the countries in which general unemployment censuses have recently been taken, but a classification of the unemployed by age groups has been carried out in Hungary and the United States, and by occupations and ages in Great Britain.

Periodical censuses of unemployment are obviously of considerable value in view of their comprehensive scope and their detailed classifications by sex, occupation, length of unemployment, etc. Nevertheless, they suffer from the great disadvantage of being carried out at long intervals, for instance every five or ten years,

and thus provide no substitute for the regular returns required to follow closely the fluctuations in the demand for the labour of young persons. These general unemployment censuses, however, provide a useful periodical check on the data obtained from regular unemployment returns.

### SPECIAL ENQUIRIES

Special enquiries into juvenile unemployment have been carried out in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Great Britain, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden, on the initiative of various private or public institutions and even in some cases by private investigators. As the particulars available on the subject are few it is difficult to give any opinion on the methods followed by the various investigators, which obviously vary according to the object of the enquiry. In some cases it was merely desired to ascertain the number of young persons out of work, while in others the enquiry aimed at obtaining particulars of the occupational record, duration of unemployment in various age groups, etc. The most valuable of these enquiries appear to be those of the second type, that is, reports dealing with a sample of young persons selected from among those registered with the employment exchanges who were attending a course of vocational training or working in employment centres. These reports are in the nature of soundings intended to furnish first-hand information concerning the life of unemployed young persons which could not be obtained from the ordinary statistics, and thus form a very valuable addition to the latter.

### § 4 — Conclusions

This brief outline of the methods of recording the unemployment of young persons suggests a number of general conclusions.

In the first place, it may be noted that a number of countries have realised the necessity of ascertaining the extent of this very disturbing phenomenon. Investigations and enquiries have become more and more frequent, and in several countries attempts have been made to compile regular statistics. In spite of these attempts, however, it is only in a very few cases as yet that comprehensive data, comparable from year to year and from country to country, are available. The difficulty of establishing regular statistics of unemployment among young persons seems to reside mainly in the fact that in a great many cases the persons in question have

never had jobs after leaving school or completing their apprenticeship, or have been employed for short periods only. They have not yet come into contact with official bodies such as employment exchanges and unemployment insurance institutions, or have only done so in a spasmodic manner. Hence the returns of these institutions give only a very incomplete picture of the real extent of unemployment among young persons.

These shortcomings of the statistics have often been pointed out. Two English students of the problem recently expressed the following conclusions which have quite a general bearing on the problem:

“ Our official statistics, built up as they have been in piecemeal fashion over a long period by numerous Government Departments, present paradoxical examples of the collection of most detailed statistics of certain subjects and the almost complete gaps regarding other equally important phases of economic and social life. We know, for example, from the Board of Trade Returns, our annual imports by volume and values of brushes (distinguished between shaving, tooth, painters’ and artists’), buttons and studs; walking-sticks and canes. We have complete information, from the returns of Central and Local Authorities, of how many widowers of any particular age married widows of any age every year, of the consumption of whisky per head in the country, of the number of movable ashbins in each district, of the precise cause of every death which has taken place. If a child is away from school we have a national system by which the reason is elicited from the parents by school attendance officers. But once these children have left school this comprehensive supervision is discontinued, many unemployed children are allowed to drop out of touch with every official agency for providing guidance and employment, and the problem of dealing with juvenile unemployment is blurred by the absence of the fundamental information regarding the scale and character of the problem ”<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that an improvement in the methods of recording unemployment among young persons presupposes in the first place the development of the regular unemployment statistics. As these statistics are adapted to the present practical possibilities in each country it would obviously be difficult to lay down any uniform international method for general use. At the same time, however, attention may usefully be drawn to certain aspects of the problem common to all countries.

One of these is the question of a uniform definition of the terms “ juvenile ” and “ young person ”. As regards the lower age limit,

---

<sup>1</sup> JEWKES and WINTERBOTTOM *Juvenile Unemployment*, p. 16. So far as Great Britain is concerned, this “ gap ” has now been closed, as under the Unemployment Act, 1934, the age of admission to unemployment insurance has been lowered to coincide with the school-leaving age.

this must naturally be identical with the statutory minimum age of admission to employment in each country. As regards the upper limit, the most suitable age would seem to be the end of the 24th year, but a distinction should be made between juveniles under 18 and young persons from 18 to 25. This subdivision does not merely meet a statistical requirement, it is dictated by the need for separate treatment of the two groups.

It is not necessary to repeat here the requirements of general unemployment statistics in respect of classification by sex, occupation, etc., which apply with equal force to statistics of unemployment among young persons.

Side by side with these regular returns of unemployment, it would undoubtedly be useful to continue the special studies and enquiries referred to above. These would enable the data furnished by regular returns to be completed by detailed and penetrating studies of certain aspects of the problem. In particular, they would serve to establish the average length of spells of unemployment in the different groups and to provide particulars of individual occupational records, while they should also facilitate an estimate of the number of unemployed young persons who have never held a permanent job, a group which calls for special attention.

Thus developed and extended, statistics of unemployment among young persons would provide a secure foundation for the measures to be discussed in the following chapters of this Report

---

## CHAPTER II

### THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE AND THE AGE OF ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT

---

Every year a fresh supply of labour appears on the labour market, consisting of boys and girls from the elementary schools, from the secondary and other post-primary schools and from the universities. Even before the crisis of 1929 commenced, the existence of juvenile unemployment had been one of the reasons cited in favour of raising the compulsory age for leaving school and entering wage or salary earning employment. The depression has, however, made the problem of unemployment among young persons much more acute, with the result that an increasing amount of attention has been devoted to any measures that would be likely to improve the situation of these young persons.

The problem is, of course, a very different one according to which of the three classes mentioned above we are considering. The children who leave school as soon as they are allowed to do so become for the most part manual workers, and to a very considerable extent unskilled workers. On the other hand, those who continue their education after the compulsory school period is finished do not necessarily give their whole time to it. They may be employed for wages or salary part of the time and attend classes for the remainder of the time, or they may become apprentices and attend classes as part of their training.

It will be convenient to consider in the first place those who leave school immediately the compulsory period is finished and study the repercussions of a longer school period being imposed. The desirability of keeping children at school for a longer period before allowing them to enter industry or trade is based primarily on the educational and general social needs of the children. With the educational aspect of the problem this Report is not directly

concerned. It must suffice to point out that a great body of opinion in different countries is at the present time in favour on educational grounds of fixing the school-leaving age at 15 when that has not already been done, and that not a few people and organisations are in favour of 16 as the most desirable age at which to fix the end of compulsory education. A single example among many may be cited. In Great Britain, where the school-leaving age is 14, the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on "The Education of the Adolescent", which was issued in 1927, recommended that as soon as possible an additional year should be added to the general school life and the leaving age should be raised to 15. It may be recalled in this connection that even the first labour laws to restrict child employment, that is to say those passed in Great Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in France in the middle of the century, had in view principally the educational needs of the children to whom they related.

Another set of reasons for lengthening school life, to which only passing reference can be made, is derived from the general social conditions of the young people concerned, such as, for example, considerations of health, the necessity of protecting young persons against undue physical exertion at an early age, difficulties of adjustment to industrial or commercial life. These difficulties can to some extent be overcome by other measures, including the development of special placing machinery for juveniles and of vocational guidance in helping young persons to pass from school life to industry and commerce. But a reasonably high school-leaving age is nevertheless considered to be a particularly effective protection against the difficulties which beset juveniles at this period.

From the point of view of the present Report the important thing to consider is the age at which young persons make their first appearance in the labour market. It is impossible, however, to obtain a clear picture of this situation without examining two sets of complementary laws and regulations, those dealing with the school-leaving age and those dealing with the age of admission to employment.

In practically every country there are laws which require all children between specified ages to attend school at fixed times of the day during certain periods of the year. The age for this compulsory school attendance is nearly everywhere 14 years, or 14 years plus the time needed to complete the school term or year. In some countries, however, the age is 15, as, for example, in certain Canadian



provinces, Chile, Haiti, Honduras, Norway, Panama, certain provinces of South Africa, some of the Swiss cantons, U S S R. and Uruguay, while in Ontario and certain South African provinces and Swiss cantons the age is 16. In the United States every State has a compulsory school attendance law, and most of these laws fix the school-leaving age at 16. On the other hand, there are other countries in which the limit is less than 14. Thus, for instance, it is 13 in Albania, Argentina, Colombia, Finland, France and Prince Edward Island, 12 in certain Canadian provinces, Greece, Hungary, Portugal and Turkey, and 11 or 12 in Yugoslavia.

The above ages, however, are subject to modification in specific circumstances. Thus, in certain countries in which the normal school-leaving age is 14 or less children may be required to remain at school until 15 or 16 unless suitable employment is available. A provision of this kind is found in certain Canadian provinces and to some extent in Great Britain. It is important to bear in mind that the work must be "suitable", a provision which enables educational authorities to keep children out of dead-end or other unsuitable work and to release them only for employment having an instructional value. Proposals of this kind are receiving increasing attention, particularly in Great Britain, where six local education authorities have increased the age from 14 to 15 years in this manner, four have made proposals which have received the provisional approval of the Board of Education, and three have made proposals which are receiving preliminary consideration. In that country such a plan could not be put into force on a nation-wide scale without new legislation, but local authorities can apply it without much difficulty<sup>1</sup>. In Australia and New Zealand, and possibly in some other countries, the retention of children at school after 14 years until suitable employment is found for them is also being tried. Such measures are of importance not only from the educational point of view, but also from the labour market point of view. Moreover, there are also countries in which children may be kept at school beyond the usual age if the prescribed standard of education has not been reached.

On the other hand, in many countries where the normal school-leaving age is fairly high the law allows exemptions, which enable children to leave school earlier than the normal time if certain conditions are fulfilled. The conditions may consist of reaching a prescribed standard of education, the availability of suitable

---

<sup>1</sup> Education Act, 1921, section 46

employment, the economic situation of the parents, or a pressing need for labour in agriculture or in the home, etc <sup>1</sup>.

It is clear that the age at which children are allowed to leave school determines to a large extent the age at which they are permitted to enter remunerative employment. This, however, is only partially true, because, as has been seen above, children are often allowed to leave school before the normal time if employment is available for them and, moreover, children may engage in a certain amount of part-time employment while they are still attending school. Moreover, there are certain occupations which young persons are not allowed to enter immediately after reaching the school-leaving age, either because they are regarded as dangerous or unhealthy or for some other reason.

There are therefore in most countries laws governing the age of admission to employment in factories, workshops and mines and in many cases in non-industrial occupations as well. The age of admission varies considerably according to the country and kind of employment concerned. In a large number of countries it is 14. Under the United States codes, however, it is 16 for most branches of industry. There are numerous restrictions. Thus, entry into employment, particularly factory employment, is frequently subject to a physical test. Failure to pass such a test may result in the candidate either being debarred from employment or admitted with certain restrictions. An almost equally common condition is that young persons at work are to be examined from time to time and debarred from employment, or their employment changed, if the work they are doing should be harmful to them. In nearly every country the admission age is raised for dangerous or unhealthy industrial occupations, and in many it is raised for underground work in mines. These admission ages vary with the degree of risk and sometimes with the sex of the worker, they are often 16 for boys and 18 for girls. Many laws permit the minimum age for admission to be reduced in respect of "light and easy work" and also in certain other circumstances, as, for example, when it can be shown that a child is required to work on account of its own poverty or the poverty of its parents.

Much agricultural work is done by children for their parents on home farms. Such work is extremely difficult, if not impossible,

---

<sup>1</sup> Details both of the normal school-leaving age and of the exemptions and provisions for the prolongation of the compulsory school period will be found in a table printed on p. 38.

to regulate and very few laws have attempted to do so. Agricultural work is however indirectly regulated by school attendance laws, and nearly all countries rely on these laws for the purpose.

Finally, a great deal of non-industrial employment is done by school children out of school hours, and such work is usually permitted for children over 12 subject to safeguarding conditions <sup>1</sup>.

The question of the minimum age for admission to various kinds of employment has also been dealt with internationally. As early as the Washington Conference in 1919, a Convention was adopted with regard to industrial employment. This was followed in 1920 by a Convention concerning employment at sea and in 1921 by a series of Conventions concerning employment as trimmers and stokers, concerning a compulsory medical examination of children or young persons employed at sea and concerning employment in agriculture. In 1932 a Convention was adopted concerning non-industrial employment. These various Conventions are summarised on a later page <sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to give reliable figures for all countries showing the proportion of children who leave school at the age of 13 or 14 years, or at whatever age compulsory education finishes. Clearly it varies enormously from country to country and depends upon a number of factors, such as the extent of industrialisation, the national wealth and income, and the relative development of the country's social institutions. A very rough estimate would perhaps put at about 75 per cent the proportion of children who seek employment at the end of the compulsory school period.

The number of children who would be affected by an increase in the school-leaving age is therefore very considerable. In the countries which took an active part in the war, the birth-rate fell from 1915 to 1919, with the result that the number of children reaching 14 showed a corresponding fall from 1929 to 1933. In 1934 the number rose again. An estimate of the number of children reaching the age of 14 was made some years ago in Germany, and showed 1,166,100 in 1929, 762,100 in 1930, 665,800 in 1931; 606,000 in 1932, 665,300 in 1933, 1,245,900 in 1934, the number then fluctuating slightly until it would reach 1,071,100 in 1940 <sup>3</sup>. In England and Wales the number of children leaving the elementary

---

<sup>1</sup> Details of the statutory age of admission will be found in a table on p 46

<sup>2</sup> See p 51

<sup>3</sup> Dr H PLATZER, Direktor im Statistischen Reichsamt "Schulzeitverlängerung und Arbeitsmarkt", in *Das Neunte Schuljahr*, p 137 Jena, Fischer, 1929

schools at 14 was 417,000 in 1932, and 372,000 in 1933. The estimates for the next four years are 570,000 in 1934, 590,000 in 1935, 560,000 in 1936, 530,000 in 1937.

The author of the German estimate quoted above says that the falling off in the number of juveniles of school-leaving age in 1929 to 1933 was one of the principal reasons which led many people to oppose the raising of the school-leaving age. This falling off, however, does not mean that the total population of working age was decreasing. On the contrary, it increased, though at a diminished rate, throughout the period 1929 to 1933. In Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for instance, the total number of persons insured against unemployment (i.e. those engaged in insurable employment between 16 and 64 years of age) has not ceased to increase in recent years. While the number was 12,094,000 in 1929, it rose steadily to 12,883,000 in 1933. The number of boys and girls of 14 and 15 available for employment declined by about 200,000 in the same period<sup>1</sup>.

It is, however, alleged that although there may be a sufficiency or even a surplus of labour in general, there will be a shortage of labour in the lowest age group (14 to 16 as a rule), and that the work undertaken by young persons on leaving the elementary school cannot easily be done by older boys and girls. Unemployment seems to be least acute among the school-leavers. There are, of course, especially during the depression, a certain number of boys and girls who remain without employment for long periods after leaving school, and their situation is a particularly tragic one; but on the whole the juveniles of 14 to 16 have comparatively little difficulty in finding employment. A good deal of this employment, however, is of a not very desirable kind (blind-alley jobs, for example). Thus, it was stated at the 1934 annual conference of the National Union of Teachers that in Great Britain 70 per cent. of the boys who leave school at 14 go into blind-alley employment. At 16, however, or thereabouts, when the young workers expect increased wages, or when, as is the case in some countries, contributions to social insurance become payable for the first time by the employers as well as by the workers, a number of juveniles are discharged and replaced by a fresh batch of 14 year-olds<sup>2</sup>. The experience of Great Britain seems to show, however, that in that country the relative advantage of the age group 14-16 over

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chapter I, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JEWKES and WINTERBOTTOM, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 123.

the group 16-18 is becoming less, for in 1933 the decrease in unemployment was greater among the latter than among the former<sup>1</sup>. Those who succeed in retaining their jobs at 16 may, however, be discharged later on. This is so much the case that an official committee in Great Britain declared as long ago as 1926 that in many industries "it is the younger adult workers, those of from 18 to 24 years of age, who are least in demand"<sup>2</sup>. This is confirmed by the experience of Sweden, where, since the economic situation improved, workers of 16 and 17 years of age have decidedly better chances of finding employment than the age groups just above them<sup>3</sup>.

The newer industries which are developing as a result of recent technical progress seem to be aggravating that situation by increasing the relative demand for boys and girls as distinct from adults, and it is perhaps not incorrect to say that industry is becoming less and less able to absorb into adult employment all the juvenile labour engaged in it. Of course the proportion of adult to juvenile labour varies very greatly from occupation to occupation, it being highest in those occupations involving heavy or relatively skilled work, and lowest in those where the work is of a comparatively light or routine character. The British committee to which reference is made above gave a number of examples. "Van boys, messengers and boys and girls employed in certain branches of confectionery manufacture apparently have few chances of retaining their employment in these occupations after the age of about 18. Of boiler scalers and rivet lads and boys employed in wire and other rope-making, only a comparatively low proportion are retained after the age of 18 to 20 years. In the textile industries generally there is a reasonable chance of a juvenile being retained, with the possible exception of 'little piecers' in the cotton industry, but with relatively poor prospects of promotion. In engineering, shipbuilding, printing and other similar large industries and in domestic service for girls, there is a reasonable chance of a juvenile being retained in adult employment. . . . Lastly, there are certain industries, such as iron and steel and heavy metal industries, the railways, tramways and omnibus services, etc., which are based mainly on adult labour and in which few juveniles are employed"<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> MINISTRY OF LABOUR *Report for the Year 1933*, p. 50. Cmd. 4543.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Committee on Education and Industry (England and Wales)*, First Part, 1926, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. L, pp. 304-305.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Committee on Education and Industry*, op. cit., p. 83.

The problem is therefore partly one of guiding school-leavers into the most suitable occupations, but this is clearly only a partial solution, if it is true, as appears to be the case, that there is in normal times relatively more employment available for juveniles as a whole than for adults. It may be noted that in 1933, when unemployment in Great Britain was diminishing, but was still severe, more than 4,000 juvenile vacancies (for boys and girls under 18) remained unfilled at the end of the year in the County of London<sup>1</sup>. This, however, is largely due to the fact that the number of young people seeking employment was particularly low in 1933 owing to the low birth-rate during the war<sup>2</sup>.

The question arises whether it would not be possible to bring about a better balance between juvenile and adult labour by diminishing the total supply of juvenile labour and thus giving more employment to adults. It is sometimes said that this will not meet the case because older workers cannot do the work which the juveniles do. It is certain, however, that the work now performed by boys and girls of 14 to 15 years of age could be performed by those of 15 to 16 years of age, and at 16 there would be less temptation to discharge the young workers because the supply of younger juveniles would be less. There would therefore be a net reduction in unemployment. An estimate of the probable reduction in unemployment which the raising of the school-leaving age would bring about was made in Great Britain about the middle of 1933 by Mr. Colin Clark, who said that if a beginning were made at that time by the raising of the school age from 14 to 16, so that the whole process could be completed by 1935, the labour market would be relieved to the extent of 330,000 men and 230,000 women<sup>3</sup>.

A word must be said concerning the position in agriculture because the problem of juvenile labour is not quite the same in that industry as in other industrial and commercial occupations. Whereas in the latter school-leavers either undertake purely routine jobs, or else become learners or apprentices with the object of learning a trade, in agriculture "young persons on leaving school immediately become more or less full workers and there is no apprenticeship"<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> MINISTRY OF LABOUR, *op cit*, p. 50

<sup>2</sup> Cf. TAWNEY *The School-Leaving Age and Juvenile Unemployment*, p. 6

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in ERNEST BEVIN *My Plan for Two Million Workless*. Cf. statement by Mr. Israel M. Sieff, an employer of labour, in a broadcast talk in April 1934, that raising the school age to 15 in Great Britain would wipe out juvenile unemployment in London, the South of England and the Midlands and would reduce it in the rest of the country to small dimensions

<sup>4</sup> PLATZER, *op cit*, p. 144

Formerly farmers complained almost everywhere of a chronic shortage of agricultural labour. To-day that is no longer the case to the same extent and unemployment has unfortunately made its appearance amongst agricultural labourers<sup>1</sup>. There seems, however, to be a tendency for older workers to be replaced by younger ones. Thus in Sweden, owing to the decreasing demand for labour in agriculture, old workers are replaced by young men just over 18, who receive the minimum wages provided for in the collective agreement in force, and there is a tendency to employ youths just leaving school, especially on peasant farms. This may to some extent diminish unemployment among young workers, but only at the cost of increasing it among older workers. There is, however, a certain amount of unemployment among the young workers as well<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, it would seem to be an advantage to farmers, as to other employers, to have a better educated class of worker, especially if the additional year were given up to education of a more or less vocational character. Another point which is frequently raised is that juveniles are needed for harvest and other seasonal work. This difficulty is, however, overcome by a suitable organisation of the school terms and the hours of attendance in agricultural districts. Apart from that, the progressive mechanisation of agriculture seems to be leading to a reduced demand for additional labour at harvest time. It is not without interest to note in this connection that in certain countries or parts of countries which are predominantly agricultural in character, the school-leaving age is highest (in certain Canadian provinces, for example) and that most of the six local authorities in Great Britain which have raised the school-leaving age to 15 by local bye-law are in agricultural districts.

A serious objection to the lengthening of compulsory school life is that it will prove an economic burden to the parents. Although the education itself is free the children will be prevented for an additional year from earning wages or salary and thus contributing to the upkeep of the home. This argument has particular importance at a time of severe unemployment like the present. In the first place it should be noted that parents are showing an increasing eagerness to leave their children at school beyond the statutory age whenever

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE *Unemployment Insurance and Various Forms of Relief for the Unemployed*, pp. 21 to 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "The Labour Question in Swedish Agriculture", in *International Labour Review*, June 1933, pp. 793 and 795.

they find it possible to do so. In many cases, however, it is not possible, or at any rate an additional school year would create considerable hardship. Two solutions of this problem have either been applied or proposed. One is to exempt children from school attendance at an earlier age than that laid down as the normal on certain grounds, of which the poverty of the parents is one. Examples of this may be found in Australia, Canada, certain South American countries and the United States. The other is to pay maintenance allowances to the parents.

There is still another matter to which some reference must be made. It is objected that the cost of raising the school age is prohibitive. School accommodation has to be provided, teachers must be paid to teach the additional children, and books and other school material are necessary. Any detailed consideration of this aspect of the question would be beyond the scope of this Report. One or two brief remarks must suffice. In countries with a falling birth-rate the cost would certainly not be proportionate to the increased number of children at school, since accommodation has presumably been provided for a larger school population than is at present attending school. Even in countries with an increasing school population the cost can easily be exaggerated, since some additional expenditure would be necessary in any case, apart altogether from the raising of the school-leaving age. The cost, whatever it is, is a charge on the general rates and taxes, and would be partly counteracted by a decrease in unemployment benefit. The additional rates and taxes would lead to some reduction in purchasing power on the part of those who pay them, but this purchasing power would be transferred to the educational authorities and to the teachers. There would therefore be no diminution in consumers' demand, and any decrease in the volume of employment brought about by the increased taxation would be compensated by the increase resulting from the demand for school accommodation and materials and the expenditure of the teachers. The British Committee on Education and Industry, to which reference has already been made more than once, conclude their examination of this aspect of the question as follows: "On the other hand we must not emphasise unduly the factor of cost. Believing as we do that an extension of compulsory education on sound lines would be of great benefit to the country at large, we think that it might ultimately be of economic as well as social advantage to face even a high expenditure upon it. In other words, no probable figure of



cost, assuming that a satisfactory estimate could be made, would in our opinion be conclusive ”<sup>1</sup>

If it should be decided to lengthen compulsory school life, a question arises as to what form the extra year's education should take. This is almost entirely an educational question, but a few words on the subject may not be out of place here. There are three fairly definite schools of thought, one taking the view that the education in the last year should be a continuation of general education, the second considering that it should be vocational, and the third suggesting a compromise between these two, namely general education with a vocational bias. This third solution has met with widespread support. We touch here on a very big and important subject. It may be recalled that at the present time, for children who remain at school beyond the compulsory age, there are different kinds of schools according to whether they wish to do commercial or professional work, or to prepare themselves for skilled industrial work. A distinction is sometimes made between secondary schools where pupils are prepared either for entrance into the university or for direct engagement in commerce, and technical or trade schools where pupils receive either a general technical training or a specialised vocational training for a particular occupation. Education in institutions of these two kinds is usually full time, and is generally voluntary. Moreover, many young persons who register for employment at the end of the compulsory school period nevertheless continue to attend full-time day school until they obtain their first job. Thus in Great Britain, for example, the Ministry of Labour made an enquiry into the number of unemployed boys and girls under 16 years of age registered on 19 March 1934 who were still attending school, the number not at school who had not had any employment since leaving school, and the number who had at some time since leaving school been in full-time employment. Of the 36,930 boys and girls who were unemployed at the date mentioned, 23 per cent. of the boys and 17 per cent. of the girls were still attending whole time at a day school while registered as applicants for employment. Three years earlier the corresponding percentages were 10 and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  <sup>2</sup>. This tendency is likely to be encouraged by a provision in the Unemployment Act, 1934, to the effect that unemployment insurance contributions shall be credited to persons who continue to receive whole-time education after

---

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Committee on Education and Industry, op cit*, p. 26

<sup>2</sup> *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, May 1934. A good many children also remain at school without registering, although they are really waiting for employment.

reaching the school-leaving age In Germany, 33 per cent of the boys and girls who have finished the compulsory eight years of full-time education continue their education for a ninth and a tenth year <sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, many children who seek employment at 14 or thereabouts continue their education at part-time courses of instruction (continued education), and it has been suggested that this is a better method of meeting the situation of these young persons than that of raising the school age What is the situation at present ? Continued education is officially encouraged in an increasing number of countries In some it is even made compulsory, as, for example, in Germany, where all children who have completed their elementary education and who do not continue full-time education are obliged to attend continuation classes lasting from four to twelve hours per week for a period of at least three years In other countries, side by side with the official continuation schools there are private courses subsidised and inspected by the public authorities Originally, continuation classes were almost entirely held in the evening, but the importance of this form of education is becoming increasingly recognised and in a large number of countries evening classes have been replaced by day classes where the pupils come fresh to their work and not physically and mentally tired as is usually the case in the evening

On the other hand, continuation classes as at present organised have certain disadvantages. In so far as they are optional they apply to only a minority of the juveniles In some countries there are no courses available except for apprentices, and as already pointed out only a minority of school-leavers become apprenticed In these circumstances employers are sometimes loath to take boys and girls into their employment if they have to release them for a certain number of hours per week for educational purposes There is then a temptation on the part both of the employer and of the parents to take the line of least resistance and to withdraw the children altogether from day classes

Apprenticeship is a special form of vocational training Usually the apprentice is bound to an employer by contract under which the employer undertakes to teach the apprentice his trade and to allow him a certain amount of time off with pay to attend classes Complaints are sometimes made that this system actually causes

---

<sup>1</sup> ROTSCHER "Versuch eines Ausbaus der Oberstufe der Volksschule" in *Pädagogisches Zentralblatt*, 1931, No 5

unemployment on the ground that in a period of depression employers are unable to fulfil their contractual obligations, and therefore prefer not to take on new apprentices. In Australia and New Zealand, for instance, where apprenticeship is compulsory by law in certain trades, this is held to lead to juvenile unemployment. On the other hand, it is clearly desirable from the point of view both of the employers and the young workers that the latter should be as well trained as possible.

The problems of apprenticeship and vocational training of young workers are of great importance, and it has already been suggested that this subject should be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference. At the Seventh Session in 1925 the following resolution, proposed by Mr Mertens, Belgian workers' delegate, was adopted.

"Whereas the question of apprenticeship and of vocational and technical education is of capital importance in furthering satisfactory and intensive production throughout the world,

"Whereas the Treaty of Peace in the Preamble to Part XIII declares that an improvement in the conditions of labour of the workers is urgently required by the application of a series of measures including 'the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures',

"And whereas it is therefore consonant with the Treaty of Peace to promote a well-devised organisation of apprenticeship and of vocational and technical education, which should enable young workers to acquire improved and indispensable vocational knowledge,

"The Seventh Session of the International Labour Conference invites the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to undertake such preliminary work and necessary investigations as it may deem appropriate with a view to the possible discussion of the question at one of the next following Sessions of the International Labour Conference."

In view of the desirability of studying the problems associated with apprenticeship and vocational training from a general point of view and not merely from the particular standpoint of their repercussions on unemployment, no attempt is made in this Report to give detailed information on these subjects in the various countries.

Reference has so far been made mainly to the situation of young persons who leave school at the statutory age, or who continue voluntarily in technical and trade schools with a view to becoming skilled workers. There is also a serious unemployment problem, however, among those who continue their studies in secondary schools with a view to following commercial pursuits,

and also among those who go to the university and are trained for industrial, business or professional work

Secondary and university education is at present purely voluntary, and as a rule it can only be had in return for the payment of a fee. There can be no question, therefore, of enacting an additional year of study, though it may be suggested that if in certain cases pupils of secondary schools were to remain at school longer than they do now, that would tend to have an effect on the commercial labour market similar to that produced on the industrial labour market by the compulsory raising of the school-leaving age.

Unemployment in the professions is attributed in some quarters to an overcrowding of the universities and a consequent excessive supply of professional workers as compared with the demand. This question has been studied in particular by the International Student Service, which convened a committee of experts from nineteen countries in September 1933. Among a number of remedies proposed was more adequate vocational guidance with the object of adapting the supply of professional workers more closely to the demand. It has also been suggested that the training for certain professions might be lengthened, as has been done in the case of medical studies in some countries, and that scholarships might be given to enable university students to continue their studies beyond the normal period.

Table I shows the title of the Act or regulation which governs school attendance, the ages between which school attendance is compulsory, the length of the school year, and the grounds of exemption from attendance for employment purposes. This table refers to general compulsory full-time education, and does not include compulsory part-time courses for apprentices and others. Table II shows the ages of admission to the chief industrial and non-industrial occupations. These tables are followed by notes concerning international Conventions on the minimum age of admission to employment, compulsory part-time education after the school-leaving age has been reached, the regulations on compulsory apprenticeship and proposals for raising the school-leaving age or the age of admission to industrial employment in different countries and the resolutions adopted by a number of international associations.

TABLE I — SCHOOL ATTENDANCE <sup>1</sup>

State and legislation	Ages	Length of school year	Exemptions for employment	
			Age	Nature of exemption
* <i>Albania</i>	6-13	—	—	—
<i>Argentina</i> Compulsory School Attendance Act, 1884	6-13	—	—	None
* <i>Australia</i>				
<i>Federal Territory</i> Education Ordinance, 1928, secs 8, 10	7-14	—	13	When necessary or desirable 6th class must be completed
<i>New South Wales</i> Public Instruction (Amendment) Act, 1916, secs 4, 6, 7	7-14	—	13	When necessary or desirable prescribed standard must be reached
<i>Queensland</i> State Education Acts, amended 1912, sec 28	6-14	—	—	Child must be educated up to prescribed standard
<i>South Australia</i> Education Act, 1915, secs 41, 45	6-14	—	—	Poverty, sickness or pressing necessity, with permit from Minister of Education
<i>Tasmania</i> Education Act, 1885	7-14	—	—	Certain exemptions granted in special circumstances
<i>Victoria</i> Education Act, 1928, sec 25	6-14	—	13	Special certificate obtained
<i>Western Australia</i> Education Act, 1928, sec 17	6-14	—	13	Poverty
<i>Austria</i> Federal Act, 10 July 1928, to amend sec 21 of Act, 14 May 1869, as amended 2 May 1883	6-14*	8 months at least	—	None
<i>Belgium</i> Primary Education Act, 19 May 1914, secs 7, 18	6-14	460 half days	—	Pupils in grades 3 and 4 may be exempted for seasonal work for not exceeding 35 days Half-time system allowed for children of grade 4, i.e. attendance during morning or afternoon only, or reduced number of days weekly, or winter term only No industrial employment under 14 allowed

Brazil	7-14	—	12	Poverty making employment necessary Minimum degree of instruction must be attained
<i>Bulgaria</i> Public Education Act, 1924, secs 29, 30, 42	7-14	urban 10 mos rural 9 mos	—	—
* <i>Canada</i> <i>Alberta</i> School Attendance Act, 1922	7-15	—	—	For not more than 6 weeks in term if services required in husbandry or home duties or for maintenance of self or others child has passed grade 8 and there is no higher school in district
<i>British Columbia</i> Public Schools Act, 1924, and amendments	7-15	—	—	Course at nearest public school com- pleted
<i>Manitoba</i> School Attendance Act, 1924	7-14*	—	12	For maximum 6 weeks in term if ser- vices required in husbandry or home duties
<i>New Brunswick</i> School Attendance Act, 1927	6-16* urban	—	12 13	Child who has passed grade 7 Child who has attended 60 days in 14 consecutive weeks in preceding year if obliged by necessity to work
<i>Nova Scotia</i> Education Act, 1923, amended 1933	7-12* rural 6-14** urban 7-14* rural	— — —	14	Child who has attended for "reasonable period" and is "reasonably profi- cient"
<i>Ontario</i> School Attendance Act, as amended 1932, secs 2, 15	6-16 urban  8-14 *	—  —	— — 12 13  —	No exemptions Not exceeding 6 weeks in school year for husbandry or necessary work Child satisfies Board that work neces- sary and attends night-school  For maximum 6 weeks in term if service required in husbandry or home duties or for maintenance of self or others

<sup>1</sup> The information in this table has been brought up to date, as far as possible, from data contained in reports received at the Office from Govern-  
ments or published in official year-books  
A dash (—) in any column means that no information has been found, an asterisk (\*) refers to the notes at the end of the table  
No information which could be included has been found about the following countries Bolivia, Ethiopia, Irak, Liberia and Mexico

TABLE I — SCHOOL ATTENDANCE (*continued*)

State and legislation	Ages	Length of school year	Exemptions for employment	
			Age	Nature of exemption
<i>Canada Ontario (continued)</i> Adolescent School Attendance Act, 1927, secs 2, 3, 6	14-16	—	—	If resident in rural school section and services required in household or home farm, with home permit if services required in or about home, with employment certificate if employment necessary for maintenance of self or others Part-time classes must be attended by those employed in towns where such classes are provided
<i>Prince Edward Island</i> Public School Act, 1920, and amendments	7-13	—	—	Outside certain cities child may be exempted if 60 per cent of school term completed —
<i>Quebec</i> No compulsory school attendance	—	—	—	—
<i>Saskatchewan</i> School Attendance Act, 1920, with amendments	7-15	—	—	If necessary for maintenance of self or others
<i>Yukon</i> School Ordinance, 1914	7-12	16 weeks	—	—
* <i>Chile</i> Compulsory Primary Education Act, 29 March 1929	7-15	12	12	Completion of primary education, for non-industrial work only
* <i>China</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>Colombia</i> Compulsory School Attendance Act, No 56, 10 November 1927, secs 4, 7	13	—	11	Completion of primary education
<i>Cuba</i>	6-14	—	—	—
<i>Czechoslovakia</i> Education Act, 1923	6-14	10 months	—	None
<i>Denmark</i> School Act, May 1933	7-14	41 weeks	—	None
<i>Dominican Republic</i>	7-14	—	—	For poverty and need to work
<i>Estonia</i> Public Elementary Schools Act, 7 May 1920	7-14	35 weeks	—	Child has completed 6 classes

<i>Finland</i> Compulsory School Attendance Act, 1920	7-13	36 weeks	13	Child reached requisite degree of instruction Children in two highest forms may be exempted for maximum 1 week for urgent agricultural work Child has obtained certificate of primary studies Child on maritime register may qualify for certificate of primary studies
<i>France</i> Act, 28 March 1882	6-13	—	12	
* <i>Germany</i> Constitution, 11 August 1919, Art 145, and State laws	6-14	—	11	
<i>Great Britain</i> <i>England and Wales</i> Education Act, 1921	14*	—	—	None
<i>Scotland</i> Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, sec 7	14	—	12	Exemption may be given for agricultural employment etc
<i>Northern Ireland</i> Education Act (Northern Ireland), 1923, secs 30, 36, as amended 1930	6-14	260 days	—	
<i>Greece</i> School Law, 24 July 1919	7-12	—	—	Children who have passed required standard and obtained certificate of primary studies may be excused further attendance No industrial employment under 14
* <i>Guatemala</i> Education Act, 17 May 1929, Decree, 11 May 1933	7-14	—	—	
<i>Haiti</i>	7-15	—	—	Exemptions for extreme poverty
<i>Honduras</i> 25 April 1928	7-15	10 months	—	Exemptions for children who have completed 5 classes
<i>Hungary</i> Compulsory Education Act, 25 July 1921, sec 3, Order 130700 of 1922 applying Act	6-12	10 months*	—	
* <i>India</i>	—	—	—	
<i>Irish Free State</i> School Attendance Act, 1926, secs 2, 4	6-14	40 weeks	12	Light seasonal work at home, maximum 20 days yearly
<i>Italy</i> Education Act, 5 February 1928	6-14*	10 months	—	



TABLE I — SCHOOL ATTENDANCE (continued)

State and legislation	Ages	Length of school year	Exemptions for employment	
			Age	Nature of exemption
<i>Japan</i> Elementary Schools Ordinance, 20 August 1900, secs 27, 32	6-14	—	—	90 days, maximum, for agricultural work in certain districts
<i>Latvia</i>	6-14	—	—	Child has completed compulsory course and obtained certificate
* <i>Lithuania</i>	7-14	—	—	—
<i>Lucemburg</i> School Law, 10 August 1912	7-14	—	—	—
<i>Netherlands</i> Education Act, 1900, amended 1921, secs 3, 13	7-14*	—	11	For agricultural employment for not more than 2 weeks yearly
<i>New Zealand</i> Education Act, 1914, secs 59, 60	7-14	—	13	Child holds certificate of proficiency as prescribed by regulations
* <i>Nicaragua</i>	6-14	—	—	—
<i>Norway</i> Towns and Rural Elementary School Acts, 15 August 1908	8-15*	—	—	—
<i>Panama</i>	7-15	—	—	—
<i>Paraguay</i> Constitution	6-14	9 months	—	—
<i>Peru</i>	7-14	—	—	—
* <i>Persia</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>Poland</i> Constitution, Art 118, Education Act, 11 March 1932	7-14	—	—	None
<i>Portugal</i>	7-12	—	—	—
<i>Rumania</i> Education Act, 1924	7-14	—	—	—
<i>Salvador</i>	14	—	—	None
<i>Siam</i>	14	—	—	—
<i>South Africa</i> (European children only)	16	—	—	Child has reached 6th standard and is taking up regular occupation
<i>Cape of Good Hope</i>	15	—	—	Poverty, if school course completed
<i>Natal</i>	15	—	—	Poverty, if school course completed
<i>Transvaal</i>	16	—	—	Child has reached 6th standard and is taking up regular occupation
<i>Orange Free State</i>	16	—	—	—

* Spain	Act of 18 May 1923	6-14	—	10	Temporarily for agricultural work with permit from Committee of Public Instruction
Sweden	Primary Education Order, 26 September 1921	7-14	8 months	—	Occasionally allowed by school boards for employment in agriculture
Switzerland					
Appenzell A -Rh		6-14	44-46 weeks	—	For haymaking, 10 days yearly, and for child over 12 attending school
Appenzell I -Rh		6-14	40-44 weeks	—	Poverty urgent household or agricultural work
Aargau		7-15	42 weeks	—	Poverty urgent household or agricultural work
Basle Rural		6-14	41 weeks	—	—
Basle Urban		6-14	42-41 weeks	—	—
Berne		6-14 or 15	34-40 weeks	—	Child who has acquired degree of knowledge before the legal age or who has special permit from the Minister of Instruction
Freiburg		Boys 7-16 Girls 7-15	40-42 weeks	13	If certain degree of proficiency reached and parents desire exemption
Geneva		6-15	42-46 weeks	—	Agriculture
Glarus		6-15	44 weeks	—	None
Grisons		7-15 or 16	—	—	None
Lucerne		6-14	40 weeks	—	Poverty
Neuchâtel		6-14	42 weeks	—	Agriculture, maximum 10 weeks
St Gall		6-14	42 weeks	—	Poverty, last school year only
Schaffhausen		6-14	42 weeks	—	None
Schwigyz		7-14	42-44 weeks	—	None
Solothurn		7-15	38-40 weeks	—	None
Tessin		6-14	7-10 months	—	For agricultural work, under special circumstances
Thurgau		6-15	—	—	None
Unterwald-Nidwald		Girls 7-13 Boys 7-14	42 weeks	—	Urgent agricultural work (rarely granted)
Unterwald-Obwald		7-13	42 weeks	—	None
Uri		7-15	30 weeks	—	Exemption possible for child who has finished primary school in 6 or 7 years
Valais		7-15	6-10 months	Girls 14	Permission from Board of Education

TABLE I — SCHOOL ATTENDANCE (concluded)

State and legislation	Ages	Length of school year	Exemptions for employment	
			Age	Nature of exemption
Switzerland (continued)				
Vaud	7-16	42 weeks	—	For regular employment or apprenticeship at 14 or 15 years
Zug	7-14	42 weeks	—	Poverty
Zurich	6-14 or 7-15	43 weeks	—	None
Turkey	7-12	—	—	—
United States of America	—	—	—	Every State has a compulsory school attendance law. Most States require the attendance of children up to 16 years of age unless they have reached a specified school standard and are not less than 14 years of age. In such cases the law allows them to leave, generally on condition that they do so in order to take up employment.
Uruguay	6-15	—	—	Child has finished primary course before 15 years
1878 and 1885	15	—	—	—
* U S S R. Decrees, various dates, 10 August 1930 to 16 May 1934	7-14	—	—	—
Venezuela. School Law, 30 May 1924, and Regulations thereunder	7-11	—	—	Children who have completed primary school which does not provide 5th or 6th class instruction, or for those specially excused by Minister of Education
* Yugoslavia. National School Act, 19 April 1904				

*Albania* The foreign schools of all nationalities have been abolished and replaced by national schools Reeducation is proceeding, especially in secondary schools There are about 500 elementary schools and 36 per cent of the children 6 to 13 years old are actually in attendance

*Australia* No exemptions granted in any State to children under 14 for employment under the Factory Acts

*Austria* Attendance required until the end of the school year and until elementary school completed

*Canada* The school year is counted from 1 July until 30 June, with long vacation in July and August, and short holidays at Easter and Christmas In the outlying districts of Alberta and Saskatchewan the long vacation may be taken in the winter

*Manitoba* Age normally 7 to 14 years but district authorities may fix 7 to 15 or 7 to 16, unless child is in regular employment

*New Brunswick* \* The law empowers district authorities to issue by-laws making school attendance compulsory \*\* Certain towns where provincial legislation makes attendance compulsory

*Nova Scotia* Local authorities may fix the compulsory school ages at 6 or 7, and at 14, 15 or 16 years

*Ontario* The sections of the Act making part-time school attendance compulsory for young persons from 16 to 18 years have not been put into force

*Chile* In communities where there are 20 or more children the State must establish a school with at least a two-year course

*China* Centres of education have been instituted in the big towns and progress has been made, but much remains to be done in rural areas

*Finland* In districts where there is only one teacher to serve two schools attendance may be reduced to 18 weeks In some cases attendance of 40 weeks may be required

*Germany* Though the German Constitution makes a 14-year limit compulsory this has not yet been applied throughout the whole country Education is governed by State laws The number of hours' instruction is regulated according to the age of the pupil and the organisation of the school

*Great Britain England and Wales* Sec 46 of the Act permits local authorities to raise the age above 14 years, but very few have done so

*Guatemala* Proprietors of undertakings where more than 10 children of school age are employed must establish schools for them

*Hungary* School year may be reduced where majority of children are those of agricultural parents reduction may not exceed 2 months in school year

*India* Compulsory education has been introduced in a certain number of urban and rural areas

*Italy* Elementary education in the strict sense may end at 12 years, but attendance is compulsory up to 14 years in places where accommodation available

*Lithuania* Theoretically the primary school period should extend over seven years, but in practice it is in most cases four years

A number of six-year primary schools have, however, been started

*Netherlands* Education may not end before end of class year in which child attains 13 years, or after class year in which he attains 14

*Nicaragua* By Circular of 3 June 1929 Minister of Education required rural schools to be established wherever attendance of at least 25 pupils assured

*Norway* The optional entrance age is 7 in rural areas and 6½ in urban districts The leaving age may be lowered to 14 for children who have passed through all seven classes and reached a reasonable standard

*Peisia* A modern school system is now being created providing for both primary and secondary education

*Spain* By Decree of 6 July 1928 municipalities are bound to build and install elementary schools and Law of 18 May 1923 requires children between 6 and 14 years to attend school But apparently these provisions are not yet everywhere enforced

*Switzerland* Cantonal laws varying from one Canton to another

*U S S R* These Decrees provide for attendance up to 15 years, but the programme has not yet been carried out in its entirety

*Yugoslavia* The length of the compulsory school attendance period varies in the different provinces from 4 to 6 years

TABLE II — AGES OF ADMISSION TO THE PRINCIPAL FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT<sup>1</sup>

State and laws regulating employment	School age	Age, factories		Age, mines		Age, commerce	Observations
		Entry	Dangerous occupations	Above	Below		
<i>Argentina</i> Employment of Women and Young Persons Act, 1924	13	14½	18	14*	18	14	* Boys only
<i>Australia</i> <i>New South Wales</i> Factories and Shops Act, 1912, Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1912, Mines Inspection Act, 1904, Public Instruction (Amendment) Act, 1916	14	14-M	16-18	14	16*	14	* Metal mines, 18
<i>Queensland</i> Factories and Shops Act, 1900, Coal Mining Act, 1925, Mines Regulation Act, 1910-1916, State Education Acts, 1912	14	14-M	15-18	14	16	14	
<i>South Australia</i> Industrial Code, 1925, Mines and Works Inspection Act, 1920, Education Act, 1915	14	14-M	16-20	14	18	14	
<i>Tasmania</i> Factories Act, 1910-1917, Mines and Works Regulation Act, 1915, Education Act, 1885	14	14-M	16-18	14	14*	14	* Metal mines, 16
<i>Victoria</i> Factories and Shops Act, 1928, Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1915, Mines Act, 1915, Education Act, 1928	14	Boy 14-M Grl 15-M	16-18	14	17	14	
<i>Western Australia</i> Factories and Shops Act, 1920, Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1902-1925, Mines Regulation Act, 1906, Education Act, 1928	14	Boy 14-M Grl 15-M	16-18	—	—	14	
<i>Austria</i> Child Labour Act, 1918-1928, Mining Act, 1919-1928	14	14-M	16-18	14-M	14	12-M	
<i>Belgium</i> Employment of Women and Children Act, 1919	14	14	16-21	14	14	14	
<i>Bolivia</i> Supreme Decree, 21 September 1929	—	10	16	10	10	—	

<i>Brazil</i> Minors' Code, 1927	14	14-M	14-18	14-M	16	12-M	
<i>Bulgaria</i> Health and Safety of Workers Act, 1917-1921	14	14-M	16-18	14-M	18	12	
<i>Canada</i>							
<i>Alberta</i> Factories Act, Coal Mines Regulation Act, School Attendance Act	15	15	—	14	16	15	
<i>British Columbia</i> Factories Act, Coal Mines Regulation Act, Metalliferous Mines Inspection Act, Public Schools Act	15	15	—	15 *	15 *	—	* Metal mines, 12
<i>Manitoba</i> Factories Act, School Attendance Act	14	Boy 14 Girl 15	—	—	—	14	
<i>New Brunswick</i> School Attendance Act	12 or 14*	13**	—	—	16	13**	* The school age may be raised to 16 years, but this has not so far been done ** These ages apply where the local school authorities have passed a compulsory school attendance by-law
<i>Nova Scotia</i> Factories Act, Coal Mines Regulation Act, Metalliferous Mines and Quarries Regulation Act, Education Act	14 or 16	14	—	16	16	—	
<i>Ontario</i> Factory, Shop and Office Building Act, Mining Act, Adolescent School Attendance Act	16	14	—	16	18	14	
<i>Prince Edward Island</i> Public School Act	13	—	—	—	—	—	
<i>Quebec</i> Industrial Establishments Act	*	14-M	16-18	—	15	14-M	* School attendance not compulsory
<i>Saskatchewan</i> Factories Act, Mines Act, School Attendance Act	15	15	—	14	14	—	
<i>Yukon</i> Miners' Protection Ordinance, School Ordinance	12	—	—	Boy 12	12	—	
<i>Chile</i> Labour Code, 1931, Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1929	15	14	16-18	14	18	12	

<sup>1</sup> A medical examination previous to admission is indicated by the letter "M" placed after the age. In the column headed "Dangerous occupations" the ages are those at which regulation generally finishes. When an age above 18 is shown it usually applies only to girls. The ages for work below ground apply to boys only. The school age, given in the first column, is that at which school attendance for general education ceases to be compulsory but many children remain beyond this age for the purposes of secondary or technical education. This column has only been included to enable a comparison to be readily made between the school-leaving age and the age for entering employment.

TABLE II — AGFS OF ADMISSION TO THE PRINCIPAL FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT (continued)

State and laws regulating employment	School age	Age, factories		Age, mines		Age, commerce	Observations
		Entry	Dangerous occupations	Above	Below		
<i>China</i> Amended Factory Act, 1932, Mining Regulations and Order, 1923	—	14	16	Boy 12	17	—	
<i>Colombia</i> Compulsory School Attendance Act, 1927	13	14	18	14	14	14	
<i>Cuba</i> Public Health Regulations, 1914-1924	14	14	18	—	—	—	
<i>Czechoslovakia</i> Eight-Hour Day Act, 1918, Education Act, 1923	14	14	16-18	14	14	12	
<i>Denmark</i> Employment of Children and Young Persons Act, 1925	14	14-M	16	14	—	14	
<i>Estonia</i> Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1924, Public Elementary Schools Act, 1920	14	14	15-18	14	18	14	
<i>Finland</i> Industrial Employment of Children and Young Persons Act, 1929, Commercial Assistants Act, 1919, Compulsory School Attendance Act, 1920	13	14-M	18-21	14	18	14	
<i>France</i> Labour Code, Book II, School Act, 28 March 1882	13	13	16-18	13	13	13	
<i>Germany</i> Industrial Code	14 *	14 *	18	14 *	16	13	* In most States
<i>Great Britain</i>							
<i>England and Wales</i> Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1920, Children and Young Persons Act, 1933	14	14-M	16-18	14	14	14	In Great Britain children over 12 and under 15 may be employed in non-industrial employment for strictly limited periods
<i>Scotland</i> Children and Young Persons Act, 1932	14	14-M	16-18	14	14	14	
<i>Greece</i> Employment of Women and Minors' Act, 1912, and Act of 1 July 1920, School Law, 1919	12	14-M	16-18	14	18	12	
<i>Guatemala</i> Labour Act, 1926	14	15	18	15	21	15	

	12	14-M	14-18	14	14	12	
<i>Hungary</i> Protection of Children, Young Persons and Women's Act, 1928, Compulsory Education Act, 1921	—	12-M	15-18	13	13 *	—	* Both sexes
<i>India (British)</i> Factories Act, 1911-1926, Mines Act, 1923	14	14-M	16-18	14	14	14	
<i>Irish Free State</i> Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1920, School Attendance Act, 1926	14	14-M	15-21	14	16 *	14	* Not using mechanical traction
<i>Italy</i> Employment of Women and Children Act, 1934, Education Act, 1928	14	14	16	14	16	—	
<i>Japan</i> Minimum Age, Industry, Act, 1923, Amended Mining Regulations, 1926-1928, Elementary Schools Ordinance, 1900	14	14	18	14	14	14	
<i>Latvia</i> Hours of Work Act, 1922-1924	—	14	15	—	—	—	
<i>Lithuania</i> Industrial Workers Act, 11 November 1933, Russian Imperial Code	14	14	16-18	14	16	—	
<i>Luxembourg</i> Act, 5 March 1928, School Law, 10 August 1912	—	12	16	12	16	12	
<i>Mexico</i> Labour Code, 1931	14	14	18	14	16	14	
<i>Netherlands</i> Labour Act, 1919-1922, Education Act, 1900-1921	14	14-M	15-18	14	14	14	
<i>New Zealand</i> Factories Act, 1921-1922, Coal Mines Act, 1925, Mining Act, 1926, Education Act, 1914	14	—	—	12	12	—	
<i>Nicaragua</i> Mining Code, 1906	14 or 15	14-M	18	14-M	16	—	
<i>Norway</i> Protection of Workers Act, 1915, Elementary Schools Acts, 1908	15	—	14	—	—	14	
<i>Panama</i> Administrative Code	14	14-M	18	14-M	18	14-M	
<i>Peru</i> Employment of Women and Children Act, 1918	14	15-M	18	15-M	18	15	
<i>Poland</i> Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1924, Education Act of 11 March 1932	12	12-M	16-18	12-M	16	—	
<i>Portugal</i> Decree, 29 October 1927	14	14-M	18	14-M	18	15	
<i>Rumania</i> Employment of Women and Young Persons and Hours Act, 1928, Education Act, 1924	14	14	—	—	—	—	
<i>Salvador</i> Public Health Act, 1930	14	14	16-18	14	16	—	* White children only, varies with Province
<i>South Africa</i> Factories Act, 1918-1931, Mines and Works Act, 1914	15-16*	14-M	16-18	14	16	—	



TABLE II — AGES OF ADMISSION TO THE PRINCIPAL FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT (concluded)

State and laws regulating employment	School age	Age, factories			Age, mines		Age, commerce	Observations
		Entry	Dangerous occupations		Above	Below		
<i>Spain</i> Contract of Employment Act, 1931, Act of 18 May 1933	14	14-M	16-18		14-M	16	14	
<i>Sweden</i> Labour Protection Act, 1912, Primary Education Order, 1921	14	14-M	18		14-M	16	13	
<i>Switzerland</i> Employment of Women and Young Persons Act, 1922	14-16*	14	16		14	14	*	* Varies with canton
<i>United States of America</i> Each State has its own law	*	—	—		—	—	—	* The industrial codes under the National Recovery Act, 1933, override State legislation, but they are intended to remain in force only until 1935. They provide a minimum age of admission to nearly all branches of employment of 16 years, but in certain types of occupation children of 14 or 15 may be employed part time out of school hours. For many dangerous occupations the age is 17 or even 18.
<i>Venezuela</i> Labour Act, 1928, School Law, 1924	14	14	18		18	18	14	
<i>Yugoslavia</i> Workers' Protection Act, 1922, National School Act, 1904	11	14	18		14	14	14	

The following international Labour Conventions affect the entry of young persons into employment

*Minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment (1919)* — This Convention forbids the employment of a child under 14 years in an industrial undertaking, or any branch of an industrial undertaking. Undertakings in which only members of the same family are employed, and technical schools approved and supervised by the public authority, are exempt. There are modifications for Japan and India. "Industrial undertaking" is defined, briefly the definition covers mines, factories, workshops and land transport. This Convention has been ratified by twenty-six countries <sup>1</sup>

*Minimum age for the admission of children to employment at sea (1920)* — Forbids the employment of a child under 14 years old on vessels engaged in maritime navigation, with exceptions for ships of war, vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed, and school ships or training ships where the work is approved and supervised by the public authority. This Convention has been ratified by twenty-eight countries <sup>2</sup>

*Minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers (1921)* — Forbids the employment of young persons under 18 years as trimmers or stokers on vessels engaged in maritime navigation, with exceptions for ships of war, school ships or training ships where the work is approved and supervised by the public authority, and vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam. In the coastal trade of India and Japan young persons of not less than 16 years of age, if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers subject to regulations made after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers in those countries. Should a trimmer or stoker be required in a port where only young persons under 18 years old are available, such young persons, if at least 16 years old, may be employed, but two must be engaged in place of the trimmer or stoker required. This Convention has been ratified by twenty-eight countries <sup>3</sup>

*Compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea (1921)* — Provides that the employment of a child or young person under 18 years old at sea on any vessel engaged in maritime navigation (with the same exceptions as for the age of admission to employment at sea Convention) shall be conditional upon the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work signed by a doctor approved by the competent authority. In urgent cases the

---

<sup>1</sup> Albania, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Great Britain, Greece, Irish Free State, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Switzerland, Uruguay, Yugoslavia

<sup>2</sup> Argentina, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, Yugoslavia

<sup>3</sup> Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, Yugoslavia

competent authority may allow a young person to embark without a medical examination, but the examination must be undergone at the first port of call. This Convention has been ratified by twenty-six countries <sup>1</sup>

*Age for admission of children to employment in agriculture (1921)* — Forbids the employment of children under 14 years in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or any branch thereof, save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. The work of children outside school must not be such as would prejudice attendance at school. For the purposes of practical vocational instruction school hours may be arranged so as to permit the employment of children on light agricultural work, particularly work connected with the harvest, but it must not reduce the annual period of school attendance to less than eight months. Technical schools, approved and supervised by the public authority, are exempt. This Convention has been ratified by seventeen countries <sup>2</sup>

*Age of admission of children to non-industrial employment (1932)* — Children under 14 years, or over 14 if required to attend primary school, are not to be employed in any work to which the Convention applies, except to the extent allowed by the Convention. The exception relates to light work performed outside school. This Convention applies to practically every kind of employment not already covered by the others. It has been ratified by three countries <sup>3</sup>

\* \* \*

As already explained, the following notes deal with compulsory continued education and apprenticeship, and proposals for raising the school-leaving age <sup>4</sup>

In all the *Australian* States education is compulsory until the age of 14, but there is no compulsory post-primary education except for apprentices. Every State, except Tasmania and to a lesser extent Western Australia, has laws making apprenticeship compulsory in the major trades and industries for those who desire to become skilled workers. The details of these schemes vary slightly both as between one State and another and one trade and another, but generally speaking apprentices in Australia have to attend classes for one half-day weekly in the employer's time and at the cost of the employer, both as regards wages paid for the time so spent and class fees. Wage rates are also

---

<sup>1</sup> Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, Yugoslavia

<sup>2</sup> Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay

<sup>3</sup> Belgium, Spain and Uruguay

<sup>4</sup> Part of the information in the following pages is taken from the publications of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, which has devoted great attention to the question of the school-leaving age. See in particular *La Scolarité Obligatoire et sa Prolongation*, 1934

fixed and the employer is required to provide the apprentice with regular graduated employment

Owing to the difficulty of carrying out provisions of this kind during a period of industrial depression, there is a growing disinclination among employers in all States to take apprentices. This movement was particularly strong in 1933 in New South Wales, the leading industrial State, among employers in the engineering and metal trades, who alleged that the difficulty or impossibility of carrying out contractual obligations towards apprentices was contributing appreciably to juvenile unemployment in the State. In the autumn of 1933 permission was given by the State apprenticeship authorities to introduce a modified form of training in the engineering and metal trades known as "trainee apprenticeship". This system, which is an alternative to indentured apprenticeship and not a substitute for it, allows youths to be employed under certain conditions without formal indentures of apprenticeship but with a system of training. The wage rate is 15 per cent. above that paid to indentured apprentices. Special labour exchange facilities have been arranged for the registration of unemployed boys who may desire to enter the metal trades through the new system.<sup>1</sup>

Raising the compulsory school age from 14 to 15 years as a remedy for juvenile unemployment has been discussed in the State Legislative Council of Victoria, but the proposals made were defeated on the ground of economy. The same reform has been advocated by the Youth Employment Committee of the Western Australian Economic Council as the most effective way of dealing with unemployment among young people.

In *Austria*, all children who have completed their compulsory primary education, which extends from 6 to 14 years, and who become apprentices are obliged to attend classes in continuation schools. These classes last for eight hours a week during forty-two weeks in the year and continue for a period of three years. Adolescents who have completed their apprenticeship or who have reached the age of 17 years may continue until 21 in the "Arbeiter Mittelschule", that is to say, a central school of general education.

Apprenticeship is highly developed and subject to detailed laws and regulations.

The problem of raising the school-leaving age as a means of preventing a certain amount of unemployment and of improving the education of the children before entry into employment has been discussed since 1930. The existence of the economic crisis and the cost involved in a measure of this kind are the principal reasons which have prevented its adoption.

In *Belgium*, post-primary education is voluntary. On the other hand, apprenticeship is highly developed, and new legislation dealing with the whole question of vocational training is at present under consideration.

The raising of the school-leaving age for girls is proposed in a Bill which is at present under discussion by the Chamber of Deputies. The suggestion is that girls on finishing their compulsory primary education should be obliged to attend continuation schools at which domestic subjects are taught, during a period of two years.

---

<sup>1</sup> Some further particulars of this scheme are given in *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 305.

The Minister of Labour and Social Welfare recently appointed a Committee of experts, including Members of Parliament, representatives of trade unions and youth organisations and competent officials to study the problem of juvenile unemployment. At its first meeting, in September 1934, the Committee decided to investigate the possibility of raising the school-leaving age, and appointed a sub-committee for this purpose.

In *Bulgaria*, according to the Public Education Act of 1924, local authorities are obliged to organise compulsory continuation classes for boys and girls from 14 to 21 years. This education, which is partly general and partly vocational, is generally given in the evening for from eight to twelve hours per week.

The possibility of raising the general school-leaving age in order to improve the level of education has been considered, but at the present time it does not seem likely that this reform will be carried through in the near future.

In *Canada*, both education and employment are governed by provincial law, and with one exception (Ontario) attendance at schools or classes of continued education is not compulsory. In Ontario the Adolescents' School Attendance Act requires all adolescents up to 16 years to attend full-time day schools unless they have matriculated. An exemption is allowed on the ground of poverty applicable to young persons of 14 to 16 years old, but part-time classes aggregating 400 hours yearly must be attended in this case at the times and seasons fixed by the competent authority. Up to the present, such classes have been organised in five cities only.

The Act provides that adolescents between 16 and 18 years are required to attend part-time classes for an aggregate of 320 hours yearly, this attendance counting as part of their working time. It also provides that municipalities with a population of 5,000 or more must, and others may, establish and maintain part-time courses of instruction for adolescents of 14 to 18 years old. The provisions concerning adolescents between 16 and 18 years have not yet been put into effect.

There is also an Apprenticeship Act which makes apprenticeship compulsory in certain trades and requires attendance at classes for 320 or 400 hours yearly.

In *Czechoslovakia*, continued education is compulsory in some cases and voluntary in others.

Compulsory continuation courses are given in vocational schools, and in the people's agricultural schools. The vocational schools have courses of four or five terms, with eight hours' instruction a week. The agricultural schools are open for five months during the winter, and also on Sunday mornings during the rest of the year for practical instruction.

Voluntary continuation courses exist in the form of a fourth class in the higher primary schools. Instruction is given throughout the whole school year, attendance being compulsory for twenty-nine hours a week for boys, and thirty-two hours for girls. Voluntary courses for adolescents are also held on eighteen hours a week during the winter months (1 October to 31 March).

The school-leaving age has been discussed, but for economic and financial reasons no measure for raising the age has been adopted.

In *Denmark*, continuation classes after the age of 14 are voluntary, but certain employers require their apprentices to attend vocational

schools or continuation schools in which education is given either in the day-time or in the evening. These classes continue until the age of 18.

The question of raising the school-leaving age has so far been considered mainly from an educational point of view rather than from the point of view of its influence on employment and unemployment.

In *Estonia*, continuation classes are voluntary except for apprentices and last for three years.

Proposals were made in June 1931 by the Government which would have raised the normal school-leaving age to 16. The State and the municipalities were to contribute to the payment of maintenance allowances. This reform does not, however, appear to have been carried through owing to the financial difficulties.

In *Finland*, the present school-leaving age is 13, and the children are then obliged to attend continuation classes for a period of two years. These classes are held every two days and amount to thirty-six hours a week. In certain cases, evening classes are added. The curriculum includes civics, the Finnish language and various vocational courses adapted to the need of the district.

In *France*, the present school-leaving age is 13 or 12, if the necessary educational standard has been reached. By an Act of 1919 all young persons of less than 18 years who do not attend full-time classes must go for at least three years to free vocational classes established both for apprentices and other young workers. The employers are obliged to give their workers the necessary time to attend these classes. At the end of three years a certificate showing their vocational skill is granted in suitable cases.

Apprenticeship is highly developed and subject to detailed laws and regulations.

In 1932 the Minister of National Education presented a Bill on the school-leaving age to Parliament, the main object being to raise the age from 13 to 14. This Bill has not yet been passed.

In *Germany*, all children who have completed their compulsory primary education, which extends from 6 to 14 years, and who do not pass into a full-time secondary or technical school, are obliged to attend post-primary classes up to the age of 18. The obligation applies to classes for from four to twelve hours a week during a period of at least three years. This education is given either in continuation schools or in vocational schools. The latter, which are mainly intended for apprentices, vary very greatly in respect of the subjects taught according to whether those attending are going into industry or commerce or handicrafts, etc.

Apprenticeship is very highly developed and regulated by special laws. A general Act providing for the regulation of vocational training has been prepared but has not yet come into force. Its main object is to unify the system throughout the country.

By Decree of 1 April 1934, the Minister of Education in Prussia established a compulsory year in the country for children leaving the elementary schools. The children are selected from among those who have completed the eight years of compulsory education. During the year passed in the country the obligation to attend a continuation or vocational school is suspended. On 15 April 1934, 22,000 children, of whom one-third were girls, from the provinces of Rhineland, Westphalia,

Saxony and Silesia and from the city of Berlin, were sent to the agricultural provinces. The children are taught to understand country life and they obtain some experience in market gardening and other agricultural work. The children attend classes in which lessons are given on racial questions, history, folk-lore, etc.

In *Great Britain*, compulsory education ends at 14 plus, but the Education Act, 1921, empowers local authorities to raise the age above this. So far, only six authorities out of 316 have done so, while seven others have made application to the Board of Education for permission to do so. The Board has provisionally approved the applications of four authorities and is considering the others. In the areas where the age has been raised, children are required to remain at school until 15 years unless suitable employment is available for them. Such children are only released if the authority is satisfied that to do so will be to the child's advantage.

The question of raising the school age on a national as opposed to a local scale is not new, and interest in it has been renewed by the unemployment situation. The Government has so far refrained from taking action on these lines on the ground that, apart from considerations of finance, to raise the age would be undesirable so long as suitable classes are not available and that to do so would interfere with its reorganisation schemes. Moreover, the Government contends that to relieve unemployment by means of education schemes would be fundamentally wrong and that unemployment relief should be kept separate from education. A Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in December 1933, providing for the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 over a period of three years. This Bill was, however, defeated.<sup>1</sup> The 1934 annual conference of the Association of Education Committees, to which 268 of the 316 education committees of local education authorities in England and Wales belong, recently adopted a resolution unanimously in favour of raising the age to 15, with maintenance allowances graduated according to need. Various other organisations, including the National Union of Teachers, have declared in favour of raising the school-leaving age at least to 15 years and in some cases to 16 years.

In *Hungary*, continuation courses for children of 12 to 13 years are compulsory. The curriculum is partly of a general character and partly vocational. These classes take place in the evening. Some of them are highly specialised with a view to preparing the pupils for commercial, agricultural or industrial work.

The question of raising the school-leaving age has been considered mainly from the educational point of view. In 1932 there were already 64 elementary schools providing education for eight years instead of six, but attendance at these schools is not yet compulsory and financial difficulties have stood in the way of an extension of the system.

In the *Irish Free State*, the main work of technical education is at present carried on in evening classes at which attendance is voluntary. On the other hand, under Part V of the Vocational Education Act, 1930, the Minister of Education is enabled to declare districts in which com-

---

<sup>1</sup> The question was again raised in the House of Lords on 11 July 1934, and Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Education, said that the Government could not consider the general raising of the school-leaving age at present as practical politics, but proposals from local authorities which desired to raise the age by by-law would be considered on their merits.

pulsory or voluntary courses of not less than 180 hours yearly of continuation education are to be provided for young persons of 14 to 16 years old. These powers do not appear to have been used up to now.

The Apprenticeship Act, 1931, governs apprenticeship in designated trades, but so far as is known to the Office no trades have as yet been designated. In certain circumstances the Act may require the attendance of apprentices at classes of instruction during working hours.

Raising the school age has been discussed in the Irish Free State, but one difficulty is that of adequate accommodation. It may be noted that the Minister may, under the School Attendance Act, 1926, raise the school-leaving age without new legislation to any age between 14 and 16 years. Further, the Vocational Education Act, 1930, contemplates and provides for putting into force compulsory education at a vocational or other suitable school up to the age of 16 years, and this section can also be brought into force by the Minister.

It is said that at the present time very few children who reach the age of 14 continue their education after that time. The main reasons seem to be either that parents need their children at home or wish them to undertake wage-earning employment of some kind. Moreover, those who remain on at school after 14 risk finding all the remunerative places filled. Employers are said to prefer junior workers and apprentices to be under 16 years of age and as this is permissible under the law the older school-leavers are handicapped.

In *Italy*, where school attendance is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14 years, children who have concluded their course of primary education and are still within these age limits must attend some course, school, or educational, vocational guidance or pre-vocational training institution, provided that such an institution exists in their district. The principal vocational courses and schools have all special time-tables which vary to meet different needs, there is no legal minimum for the number of hours of attendance.

The Government is trying to develop post-primary education by setting up new schools and adopting the existing schools to meet local requirements.

In *Latvia*, attendance at continuation schools is compulsory for children up to the age of 16 unless they continue their education in the ordinary secondary or technical schools. The continuation classes are held for from 180 to 300 hours per year.

In *Luxemburg*, attendance at continuation schools is compulsory for a period of two years for all children who are not receiving some other form of education of an equivalent or superior standard. These classes are given for 106 hours per year and the instruction is adapted to the needs of the various districts and towns of the country. Practically all of them have a vocational character.

In *New Zealand*, continued education is entirely voluntary. Apprenticeship is regulated by the Apprenticeship Act, 1923, amended in 1925 and 1929. This Act, which applies to particular industries only, does not cover more than a small proportion of employed juveniles, a proportion which has steadily decreased since 1929. Certain employers contend that in practice the Act lacks elasticity and they have recently indicated that in the conditions now prevailing they prefer not to bind themselves to teach apprentices during a period of five years. Some



legal relief has been granted, and proposals to introduce a system of trainee apprenticeship similar to that in New South Wales have been made but so far no measures have been taken

A recent report of the Minister of Education states that at the beginning of 1931 the Government decided to relax the regulations governing the award of free places in the senior schools in order that boys and girls reasonably well qualified educationally might, while they were waiting for employment, occupy themselves profitably in continuing their education in post-primary schools. Nearly 500 young persons took advantage of this in 1931. In all the more important centres organisations have sprung up with the object of assisting teachers and parents to find suitable employment for children leaving school. Many boys have been thus placed on farms, but in a great many other cases it was impossible to find employment for these young people, and local voluntary organisations then endeavoured to provide useful part-time education.

In *Norway*, the local authorities may establish continuation classes and make them compulsory for a period of one year. The classes are to last for thirty-six hours per week. At the present time, the number of compulsory continuation classes is relatively small. On the other hand, there is a large number of voluntary continuation classes and schools. Apprentices are obliged by law to attend a technical evening school for a period of three to four years five times per week, the classes lasting two hours each time.

In *Panama*, the question of raising the school-leaving age has been under discussion for several years, but various difficulties have prevented any measure being taken on the subject.

In *Poland*, continuation courses for a period of not less than two years are compulsory for all persons between the ages of 15 and 18 years who are not attending other schools. The courses last from September to June, but the legislation does not fix any minimum number of hours. They are held either in the ordinary schools or in vocational schools. In 1929 the State and the municipal authorities organised 90 per cent of all the continuation courses for which provision was made, but the system does not yet cover the whole country.

In *Sweden*, continued education is compulsory for young persons from 14 to 18. They have to attend for from 360 to 540 hours, distributed over two or three years. The instruction given is sometimes of a general character and sometimes of a vocational character, and is closely linked up with the vocational guidance services.

The question of raising the school-leaving age has been discussed mainly in educational circles for reasons of an educational and social character, but unemployment is now included among the reasons for which a measure of this kind is proposed.

In *Switzerland*, where education is within the sphere of the cantons, apprentices are in practically every canton obliged to follow classes during their apprenticeship.

The school-leaving age has been raised to 15 in certain cantons,<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Die Organisation des öffentlichen Schulwesens der Schweiz*. Zurich, 1932. 215 pp.

mainly on account of the severe unemployment among young persons. A Committee of the Swiss Association for Social Progress investigated in 1932-1933 the occupational skill of young persons of 14 and 15 years. The object of these investigations is to enable the Association to propose a reasonable solution of the problem of the school-leaving age.

In a communication to the Chambers on 9 October 1934 the Federal Council considered the possibility of raising the age for admission to employment in the occupations specified in section 34 of the Federal Constitution (industry, arts and crafts, commerce, restaurants and public houses, and public and private administrative services). The Federal Council expressed itself as being in favour of such a reform, but considered that it would have to be accompanied by a simultaneous raising of the school-leaving age to 15 years so as to ensure continuity between the completion of the school career and the beginning of an occupational career. As legislation on matters of education comes within the scope of the cantonal authorities, the Federal Council sent a circular on 31 August 1934 to the Cantonal Governments requesting those cantons in which the school-leaving age is below 15 years to state what measures they could take with regard to this suggestion. When the replies have been received, the Federal Council will submit to the Chambers a Draft Federal Order on the subject.

In the *Union of South Africa*, there is no compulsory continued education. On the other hand, apprenticeship is compulsory in designated trades which include printing, building, engineering, the leather industry and some others. The conditions of apprenticeship vary slightly with the trade, but in nearly every case attendance at classes of instruction is compulsory. This is usually for four or six hours weekly and in a number of cases it is split up between the employer's time and the apprentice's time, in the latter case attendance being in the evening.

The position in the *United States* is peculiar in that it is a Federal country with labour legislation in the power of the separate States. Thus, child and juvenile employment is governed by many laws of diverse character and varying degrees of strictness. A section of the community has long desired to see this altered and Federal control substituted. Two attempts to secure Federal control of child and juvenile labour were made by Federal Acts, but each, after a short period of operation, was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. A third attempt was then made which would have amended the Constitution of the United States, but it obtained little support in the State Legislatures. The advent of the industrial depression, however, and the spectacle of cheap juvenile labour being employed while adults (often with family or other responsibilities) were workless, won a large number of adherents to the side of Federal control, and the number of States which had ratified the Child Labour Amendment increased from six, for the period 1924-1933, to twenty at the end of 1933.

The recently adopted industrial codes have overridden State laws (except in so far as the law may be more advanced than the code, a rather unlikely contingency), and juvenile labour regulation of an unusually high standard has suddenly become practically uniform throughout the country regardless of State boundaries. This regulation, however, is temporary, as it expires in 1935 unless renewed. A minimum of thirty-six ratifications by State Legislatures is needed for adoption of the amendment to the Constitution, no time-limit has been set

for adoption, but it is of vital importance that the number be reached not later than 1935 when the codes will expire

A distinctive feature of the State laws is the employment certificate system. In practically all States before a child or young person may enter employment he has to apply for, and obtain, an employment certificate. Most States require employment certificates not only for factories but for employment in shops and numerous other occupations. Certificates are usually needed up to 16 years of age, but in a few States the requirement extends to 17 or even 18 years. Conditions other than those relating to age of admission may attach to the issue of an employment certificate. These mostly have reference to the degree of education which must be reached by the applicant or to his physical qualifications. Thus certain State laws specify the actual school standard which an applicant for an employment certificate must reach before this will be granted. In seventeen States and the District of Columbia the eighth grade must be reached, but seven States permit exemptions under certain conditions, seventeen States have no educational requirements at all or fix no definite standard. In most States educational requirements apply during the entire period in which a certificate for employment is needed.

A large majority of the States (there are fifteen exceptions) make some provision for physical examination, and twenty-five States (two with exceptions) require a compulsory medical examination before issuing an employment certificate. This requirement, like that for education, usually coincides with the period during which the young person must obtain an employment certificate.

Within the last few years many States have passed laws to require young persons between 14 and 16, and in some cases 18, years to attend continuation schools as a condition for employment. The education given in these is usually vocational.

Apprenticeship is regulated by law only in the State of Wisconsin, where there is a "State Apprenticeship Plan" applicable to many branches of industry which appears to have met with considerable success. Apprenticeship is the rule, too, in many of the big industrial concerns and in the railway companies. On the whole, however, apprenticeship has declined in the United States.

In the *U S S R* the guiding principles laid down for the second five-year plan include proposals for compulsory vocational education up to the age of 17.

\* \* \*

The problems which are considered in this chapter have been studied by a large number of international conferences, both official and unofficial.

Thus the Third International Education Conference held in Geneva under the auspices of the International Bureau of Education in July 1934, at which about forty Ministries of Education were represented, adopted a long resolution on the subject of the school-leaving age, of which the following is a summary.

The Conference, after noting that the problem of the raising of the school-leaving age cannot be solved on uniform lines in all countries and that in some countries the main problem is rather to ensure compulsory education within existing limits for every child, urged that the

number of years of compulsory education should not be less than seven. It is considered that the school-leaving age should be fixed in such a way, as to ensure the physical, mental and moral training of the children, that the raising of the school-leaving age even beyond 14 years would be of undoubted advantage to most countries, subject to temporary exceptions in certain cases that this problem should be dealt with in relation to the problem of the age of admission to employment, that measures adopted by the Ministers of Education and of Labour in the various countries should be co-ordinated as fully as possible, and that in the international field studies concerning the age of admission should be carried on simultaneously with those on the school-leaving age.

The Conference also noted that the raising of the school-leaving age might affect not only primary schools but also other schools, drew the attention of Governments to the desirability of instituting compulsory continuation classes, and considered that any measure for raising the school-leaving age should permit of the co-ordination of primary, secondary and vocational education, and that any additional years of primary education should have a practical bias.

Resolutions dealing with the school-leaving age have been adopted by the International Association for Social Progress and the World Federation of Education Associations, both of which proposed 15 as the most desirable school-leaving age, the International Association for Commercial Education and the International Federation of Trade Unions. In 1931 the permanent education committee of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies adopted a resolution at the Brussels meeting of the Federation in favour of fixing 14 as the minimum school-leaving age. The Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Istanbul in September 1934 also adopted a resolution to the effect that the school age should be raised so as to keep as many young persons as possible off the labour market, while at the same time giving them every opportunity of developing their occupational skill.

The problems of post-primary education have also been investigated by a number of international organisations which have advocated the development of such education, and have urged that it should be at least partly of a vocational character and in some cases wholly of a vocational character depending on the particular classes of pupils to whom it applies. In 1929, the International Bureau of Education in Geneva undertook an investigation concerning the occupation of children leaving school. In 1932, this problem was considered by the International Federation for Domestic Training. In 1931, the International Federation of Teachers' Associations adopted a resolution at its Stockholm Congress in which the Federation urged that all children prematurely given over to apprenticeship or to agricultural, industrial or commercial employment should receive both a compulsory supplementary education during the first years of adolescence designed to provide both general culture and vocational training and also compulsory continuation courses in later years.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1934 adopted a report from its Fifth Committee which stated

"The Committee displayed keen interest in the various suggestions made by the Child Welfare Committee, among which the following are worthy of note: the adoption generally of compulsory school attendance for primary education, and, in the countries where this measure exists, the extension of the period of compulsory school attendance by

the addition of one or more classes to the primary school, supplementary vocational courses the extension of the period of attendance at nursery schools, the institution of workers' allotments and suburban colonies or voluntary civil service in labour camps "

### Conclusions

The foregoing brief study of the relations between the school-leaving age, the age of admission to employment, and unemployment has led us to consider different aspects of the question

The first point to which attention may be directed is that of the normal compulsory school-leaving age This is dealt with in existing laws in two different ways In some countries the age is a fairly low one, and either no exemptions at all or only strictly limited exemptions are allowed below that age In such cases, there is sometimes provision for compulsory full-time education to be continued until suitable employment is obtained In other countries the age is a fairly high one, and there are numerous exemptions on a variety of grounds, but subject, as a rule, to safeguards, such as the fixing of an absolute minimum age or the attainment of a certain standard of education In either case, provided the system in force is applied in a satisfactory manner, the result is very much the same, namely, that boys and girls are obliged to remain at school until a fairly advanced age unless suitable employment is obtained There are, however, other countries where no provision is made for compulsory full-time education after the normal school-leaving age has been reached.

This question, therefore, has two aspects First, what is the age up to which all children should be obliged to attend full-time schools ? On this question the above survey shows that the most usual age at which compulsory education finishes for all children is 14, but in some cases it is 15, while in others numerous proposals have been made to raise the age to 15

The second aspect of the question is the following Should provision be made for young persons above the normal school-leaving age to be compelled to remain at school if they have not obtained suitable employment, and if so, for how long ? This involves a further question, namely, What is meant by "suitable employment" ? The object of such a definition would be mainly to exclude jobs which last for not more than a year or two and offer no future prospects

The next point to be considered concerns compulsory part-time continuation classes, which may be applied only to apprentices or to all young persons whether they are in employment or not.

If compulsory full-time education for those who have not obtained employment is extended to 17 or 18, the question of continuation classes hardly arises, but if the age is lower than that, the desirability of compelling attendance at part-time classes becomes an urgent question to which an answer must be given

This leads to the problem of the kind of education which is to be given in schools or classes for young persons who have reached the minimum school-leaving age. This is a matter of importance whether attendance is compulsory or voluntary and whether the classes are full-time or part-time. It raises the whole problem of technical and vocational education and of apprenticeship. It does not seem possible for the Conference, in studying the subject of unemployment among young persons, to deal with problems of such importance which have many aspects other than those connected with unemployment. As has already been pointed out, the Conference has declared in favour of a discussion of vocational and technical education at a future Session, and at the Eighteenth Session (1934) Mr Mahaim, Belgian Government representative, again drew attention to the urgency of this subject. It is a matter for consideration whether a further resolution on this matter should be adopted.

Then comes the question of the age of admission to employment. A number of Conventions have already been adopted on this problem and are summarised above. They have been ratified by a considerable number of countries and cannot be revised except by the ordinary procedure for the revision of Conventions adopted by the Conference.

Finally, there is the question of measures which may be taken to enable young people who attend full-time secondary or technical schools, or those who go to the university, to prolong their studies, either by means of scholarships or in some other way

---

### CHAPTER III

#### GENERAL EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND SOCIAL SERVICE FOR YOUNG UNEMPLOYED PERSONS

---

The worst effect of unemployment on young persons is the demoralisation it produces. While adults are inured by long years of work to the struggles and difficulties of life, it can hardly be expected that young persons thrown on their own resources at a tender age will be able to offer much resistance to the demoralising influence of prolonged unemployment. For young people leaving school at 14 years of age or even earlier without any definite prospect of employment, the most effective help that can be given is the raising of the school-leaving age, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

When this measure cannot be taken or when we are dealing with young persons whose age precludes any return to the classrooms of a primary school, where they would be too much out of place, other steps must be taken to prevent involuntary idleness. When normal employment is not available such persons can be given work of an immediately productive nature in work centres or other forms of relief work. Measures of this sort are discussed in the following chapter. Again, unemployed juveniles may be offered the chance of perfecting their general knowledge or vocational attainments by schemes which combine instruction with measures of social assistance and possibilities of recreation with a view to their future employment. It is such measures which are discussed in the present chapter.

It seems hardly necessary to enlarge on the beneficial influence which is likely to result from such measures for young persons who, by prolonged unemployment at a time when a normal working career should be open to them, may easily be driven to the verge of despair and to a complete loss of personal dignity. Unemployment among parents, as among children, often results, especially in periods of lasting depression like that at present afflicting the world, in a dangerous dissolution of family ties, with the result

that the young out-of-work also finds himself deprived even of the benefit of home life, as frequently his home is either broken up or what semblance of it remains is a mere mockery. The complete absence or deficiency of home conditions induced by unemployment must be replaced as far as possible by social centres for young unemployed persons. Here indeed is a vast field of action for occupational, religious, instructional, sporting and recreational organisations of all sorts, as well as for the public authorities who should help and co-ordinate the steps taken by private initiative when they do not themselves give the lead.

The essential aim of such measures is to save such persons from the demoralisation of the streets. This aim may be achieved to some extent by the provision of comfortable premises where unemployed young persons can obtain nourishment and regain their fortitude in the company of companions of a similar age not necessarily drawn from the ranks of the unemployed, where they can busy themselves with small jobs of immediate use (repairing of clothes, shoes, etc., washing of linen, etc.), and where they are provided with reading matter. Facilities should also be given for indulgence in sports and the arts (theatre, music) and for visiting libraries, museums, picture houses and other entertainments. In short, everything should be done to ensure that unemployment does not entirely debar these unfortunates from the ordinary benefits of civilisation.

Most of these measures have a real intellectual or moral worth and in many cases they include veritable courses of general education.

The choice of the programme of these courses and of the instructors and lecturers responsible for them is of very great importance. In addition to subjects of occupational, local and national interest it would appear desirable that the programme of these courses should include, in accordance with the resolution adopted on 12 July 1934 by the Advisory Committee on Education of the League of Nations, questions of an international character such as the work of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office which are likely to contribute to the extension of a spirit of international co-operation.

The spare time on the hands of young unemployed persons may be utilised still more profitably by the development of vocational training. The angle from which this problem must be approached naturally differs according to whether the unemployed persons have never been in employment since leaving school or whether



they have had previous working experience In the first case, it is a question of beginning or prolonging normal vocational training In the second case, vocational qualifications already acquired must be kept up and perfected, or inculcated in cases where the young persons have learned no skilled trade In both cases it will often be very advisable to provide, in accordance with age, possibilities of employment in special training workshops rather than purely theoretical courses But in every case, individual aptitudes must be carefully considered, as must the chance of future employment in the trades taught Naturally, the organisation of this programme of general education or vocational training will vary with the age of the persons for whom it is intended, and attendance at courses, while being compulsory for some of the young unemployed, must be optional for others

These various measures may be supported by unemployment insurance and relief funds for two cogent reasons first, because of the material help which these measures are likely to afford the funds, and secondly, because the funds themselves can make the grant of benefit or allowances to the juvenile unemployed conditional on attendance at a general or vocational instructional centre

In this connection it may be recalled that the Draft Convention ensuring benefit or allowances to the involuntarily unemployed, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its Eighteenth Session, stipulates in Article 8 that "the right to receive benefit or an allowance may be made conditional upon attendance at a course of vocational or other instruction" The Recommendation adopted at the same Session of the Conference states, moreover, that such attendance "should be imposed only if the unemployed persons will derive an advantage therefrom either from the point of view of their physical or mental well-being or of their vocational or general capabilities"

In the following pages will be found an analytical summary of the measures taken or contemplated in the various countries

In *Australia*, measures for the education and training of the unemployed are within the competence of the States.

In New South Wales an Employment Council, including among its members representatives of commercial and industrial organisations, was set up in 1933 to explore every means of increasing opportunities of employment and to consider and develop schemes for improving the qualifications of youths for absorption into industry

The Unemployment Relief Council, which administers the relief funds of the State, made arrangements for money to be made available to enable boys and girls to secure a twelve months' course of technical

education to assist them in their future careers. Under this scheme 1,300 boys and girls were admitted to various technical colleges and trade schools in 1933.

Young Citizens' Associations, composed of local citizens interested in the welfare of young people, have been formed with the object of providing educational and recreational facilities for unemployed juveniles of 14 to 21 years of age. The number of associations formed in 1933 was 35, with a total membership of 3,200. Classes are conducted in trade, commercial and other subjects for boys and in domestic subjects for girls, and arrangements are made for a certain number of boys to undergo agricultural training with a view to employment on the land. The Government contributed £3,000 for salaries, tools, materials, etc.

In South Australia, a meeting was convened by the Governor in January 1934 to discuss the question of unemployed young people, as a result of which a Youth Organisation Committee was formed. The aim of this Committee is to find occupation for the young people with a view to safeguarding their physical, mental and moral well-being.

In *Austria*, in connection with vocational instruction for unemployed persons, present legislation requires that if suitable employment cannot be found for an unemployed person because he lacks sufficient knowledge and skill for work in a suitable occupation, the Unemployment Office may, with the consent of the District Industrial Committee, send him to a trade school, a suitable undertaking, or some other suitable institution for continued vocational instruction. It is obvious that these facilities must be mainly utilised by young persons. The industrial committees are thus empowered to organise courses or apprenticeship workshops, or to send unemployed persons to courses organised by other organisations, or, finally, to place unemployed persons in private undertakings with a view to completing their apprenticeship. The cost of measures taken to ensure the instruction of the unemployed and changes in occupation is borne in equal parts by the employers and the wage earners in the district, in the form of a supplement to the unemployment insurance contributions.

An unemployed person in receipt of benefit who refuses to undergo a period of apprenticeship or renders the results of such period nugatory through his own fault, may be deprived of benefit for a period of twelve weeks. Attendance at a vocational course may therefore be compulsory, it is also encouraged in various ways. For example, the benefit period for unemployed persons attending a vocational course may be extended beyond the statutory time-limit up to a maximum of thirty weeks. Unemployed persons under 17 years of age who normally are excluded from benefit when their parents are able to support them, may be granted benefit if they attend a whole-time vocational instruction course.

In effect, some industrial committees, as for example those of Vienna and Gratz, have organised a number of vocational courses for unemployed youths, and courses in domestic science and sewing for unemployed girls. The town of Gratz has granted special credits in order to allow girls not entitled to unemployment benefit to attend these courses.

On the initiative of the Chamber of Workers of Vienna, the "Youth in Distress" Association was set up and included Government and trade union representatives on its directorate. During the winter of 1932-1933, the organisation maintained 105 centres for young unemployed manual workers, including 82 for young men and 23 for young women.

These centres were open to unemployed persons of 14 to 21 years of age on all working days between the hours of 2 and 7 p.m. During the

twenty-two weeks preceding the spring of 1933, the centres were visited by 664,000 young men and 71,122 young women, to whom 768,787 bread-rations and 731,533 soup rations were issued. Over 500 doctors and 50 dentists gave free treatment to young persons frequenting the centres.

The main object of the centres was to promote education and to save unemployed youth from the demoralising influence of the streets by providing opportunities for instruction and recreation. Altogether, about 2,000 social evenings were arranged, the aggregate attendance exceeding 130,000 persons.

In order to provide young unemployed persons with useful activities, the "Youth in Distress" Association proceeded throughout 1932 to organise labour units. These units were employed in fitting up and maintaining centres for the young, in various kinds of work on behalf of the indigent population and public utility undertakings, and in the preparation of sports grounds and the establishment of centres for young unemployed persons. Each unit worked four hours a day on four days a week. One day a week was given over to recreation and instruction for the members of the units. Each member of a unit was entitled to a midday meal and a daily bread ration, and to have his clothes and footwear repaired. Altogether, ninety-two labour units provided work for about 2,200 unemployed young persons per day and for over 311,571 persons for the whole of the period under consideration. The work executed often bore witness to great technical skill.

The total cost amounted to 454,000 schillings for the centres and 451,000 schillings for the labour units.

An association similar to the Vienna organisation was set up in Gratz. There, too, centres were set up where young unemployed persons were occupied during the day with various kinds of work, physical exercises and games. Variety was ensured by lectures and visits and excursions to various establishments and places.

In *Belgium*, the Government leaves the initiative in matters connected with the general and vocational education of young unemployed persons to the local authorities, occupational organisations and to organisations set up to promote the welfare of the younger generation, while giving every encouragement to such schemes. In a resolution adopted on 1 March 1933, the Chamber of Representatives recognised the need for the organisation of general and vocational courses for young unemployed persons, and for the co-ordination under the auspices of the Government of all useful measures taken in this field. The Higher Council for Workers' Education, at the request of the Ministry of Education, drew up a plan for the utilisation of the spare time of the unemployed. A number of items in this plan are specially intended to meet the requirements of young persons. For example, the Council recommended that young unemployed persons should be required, as a condition for the receipt of unemployment benefit, to attend vocational courses organised by the central or local authorities either in co-operation with private associations or otherwise. The Royal Decree of 31 May 1933 as amended by the Royal Decree of 14 July 1933 concerning unemployment provides that juveniles between the ages of 15 and 18 years may claim the statutory unemployment benefit if they prove that they have actually been employed for not less than six months in industry or trade as workers or salaried employees, or that they have followed for at least two years a full-time course in an industrial, vocational or general education centre set up or approved by the Government, or that they

have worked under a contract of apprenticeship recognised and supervised by the Government. Again, in order to be entitled to benefit from the National Emergency Fund, young persons under 21 years may be required to follow the vocational courses organised for them by the provinces, communes and public institutions<sup>1</sup>

Considerable initiative is also displayed by the provincial authorities. The Administration of Brabant decided in October 1932 to encourage the communal authorities to organise courses and lectures by guaranteeing 50 per cent of the expenditure involved, on the condition that the schemes arranged should be of a strictly vocational nature. Similarly, the Provincial Council of Liege voted in October 1932 a sum of 25,000 francs to subsidise communes which set up courses for young unemployed persons. In the Province of Hainaut, the Permanent Deputation decided, at the request of the Federation of Socialist Trade Unions and the National Organisation of Socialist Youth of Central Belgium to set up special courses for the unemployed. These courses are held at the Provincial Institute of Arts and Crafts of La Louviere. Most of the unemployed attending these courses have been divided up into special sections which meet during the day for instruction in the following trades: (1) electrical fitters and assemblers, (2) machine tool workers, (3) electricians, (4) carpenters, (5) motor-car drivers, (6) welders. As the demand for instruction in other trades is insufficient to warrant the creation of special sections for young unemployed persons, those desiring to learn other trades have been enrolled in the ordinary sections of the Institute which receive instruction in the evening. Unemployed persons have been admitted to the following sections: (1) blacksmiths, (2) plumbers, (3) moulders and founders, (4) layers out, (5) pattern makers. In all cases measures have been taken to allow unemployed persons who find work to continue in the evening the instruction begun in the special day courses. The special courses include six to nine hours of attendance a week and both theoretical and practical work is done in them.

The local authorities, for their part, have not remained inactive. For example, the Town Council of Ghent has organised courses for unemployed juveniles in the town schools. Similar steps have been taken in other places such as Verviers, Vilvorde, Louvain, and Antwerp. In the last-mentioned city the courses are given by teachers and officials of the city who volunteer their services. By October 1932, 274 pupils had been enrolled. In the central region (Province of Hainaut), most of the communal authorities grant a subsidy equal to the cost of schooling to young persons old enough to work or begin an apprenticeship whose parents are in need, provided they attend vocational or industrial courses and, in certain cases, intermediate schools. As a result, although the depression has sadly reduced the earnings of workers and salaried employees, the attendance at secondary, industrial and vocational schools shows a tendency to increase.

As regards private initiative, a number of recommendations and various measures of a practical nature are to be noted. In February 1933, the General Council of the Education League voted a resolution demanding free admission for unemployed young persons to intermediate schools and the establishment in the Ministry of Education of a special section

---

<sup>1</sup> Apart from these measures, which apply more especially to unemployed juveniles, the central and provincial authorities grant assistance and subsidies to libraries and institutions for the organisation of the workers' spare time, which may also be used in certain conditions by unemployed juveniles.

to deal with the organisation of educational meetings and lectures throughout the country. About the same time, the Belgian Association for Social Progress made similar recommendations. The problem was also discussed at the Congress of the Catholic Employers' Federation, held in Brussels in 1934. Proposals were submitted to that Conference for the increase of free vocational courses in all districts affected by unemployment, the grant of supplementary benefit to unemployed parents with a child under 18 years of age attending one of these courses and the training of unemployed juveniles in certain handicrafts.

In addition to the above recommendations, a number of practical measures have also been taken for which the chief credit must be given to the workers' organisations.

The Young Christian Workers' League (J O C), which includes about 80,000 young workers, has organised on behalf of the juvenile unemployed conducted visits to workshops and factories and has provided facilities for placing, assistance and utilisation of spare time. These facilities are provided in centres or what are known as "permanences" which are open to all young unemployed persons who find therein material and moral help as well as an opportunity to occupy their spare time. The J O C is demanding, in addition to the raising of the school-leaving age, the establishment of vocational courses at the expense of the communes. In order to encourage young persons to follow these courses the J O C urges the establishment of school canteens, the grant of supplementary unemployment benefit to the unemployed in respect of children up to the age of 18 (instead of 16) on condition that the children regularly attend courses in a vocational or other school. The cost of the courses would be borne by the communes. The J O C publishes a monthly paper for the special benefit of young persons out of employment, it contains information likely to be of interest to them.

As regards the activities of the Socialist organisations, attention has already been called to the fact that it was at the request of those organisations in the Province of Hainaut that that province set up courses at La Louviere. It was also due to the pressure exercised by the Trade Union Youth Movement and the Working-class Youth Association that courses were instituted in Antwerp. Similar demands and claims to those put forward by the J O C were discussed at a conference held at Ghent in December 1932 by the Socialist Young Guards. Again, at a special congress in Brussels on 1 July 1934, the Trade Union Commission adopted two resolutions on the unemployment of young persons, the first recommending measures to be taken by the public authorities, the second concerning action by the Socialist organisations. In these resolutions the Socialist organisations were requested to arrange courses, lectures, excursions, visits to industrial establishments and art institutions, social meetings, etc., while the public authorities were urged to increase the possibility for all young persons under 21 to follow vocational and other courses by obtaining the necessary premises. It was also suggested that the tutorial staff should be chosen from among adult manual or professional workers.

In *Canada* provision for the education and recreation of the unemployed is made in a number of places, largely by voluntary effort. Thus, in Montreal, for instance, rooms have been opened for games, reading and classes, and a library, concert hall and theatre have been placed at the disposal of the unemployed. The classes include general subjects and some technical subjects such as geology and mining. Instruction of a practical character is also given in boot repairing,

clothes mending, etc. Moreover, in many prairie towns and villages lectures on literature, civics and music have been organised

In *Czechoslovakia*, the Ministry of Social Welfare has decided to set up centres for unemployed juveniles throughout the Republic, and more especially in districts where unemployment is particularly acute. The number of persons admitted to these centres is limited to fifty and only young persons between 18 and 20 years who are in dire want will be accepted. Among other things, the centres will provide courses in general and vocational education, youths being occupied chiefly in workshops while young women will be taught cooking, sewing and domestic science. The average length of these courses will be two months, and daily tuition will last for six hours, including four in the workshops.

For the time being, only forty centres will be set up. The results of their first period of activity will be submitted for consideration to the Social Institute of Czechoslovakia and the National Statistical Office, and will be used as a basis for a general plan of action on behalf of unemployed juveniles.

In *Finland* from 1930 onward a number of communes, encouraged by the Government, instituted apprenticeship courses. In some cases the communes have themselves assumed the organisation of the courses, while in others this has been entrusted to specially competent associations which receive a subsidy<sup>1</sup>. At present these courses are attended by between 3,000 and 4,000 unemployed persons. The State may refund as much as half the resultant expenditure. Subsidies are granted to the communes by the Ministry of Social Affairs, which has spent the amounts shown below for apprenticeship courses and workshops run by communal assistance schemes<sup>2</sup>.

Year	Finnish marks	Percentage of total expenditure for unemployment
1930	1,832,000	3.67
1931	1,990,000	3.04
1932	6,571,000	6.21

In *France* a number of measures for utilising the spare time of unemployed young persons have been adopted by the public authorities and private organisations.

Early in 1933, the Minister of Labour, acting in conjunction with the Under-Secretary of State for Technical Education, circularised the prefects asking them to request communes having both a public unemployment relief scheme and regularly organised vocational courses to insert the following provision in the rules of the scheme: "Supplements (to unemployment benefit for family charges) shall not be granted in respect of children under 18 years of age who do not attend either the compulsory vocational courses organised by the departments, communes, chambers of commerce or occupational associations, or the optional vocational courses subsidised by the State. The obligation to attend such courses shall not apply to children who hold a certificate of vocational competency or a diploma or certificate issued by a public school or by a private technical school recognised by the State." The aim of this provision is to regularise the position of boys and girls between 13 and 18 years of age who, as a result of the depression, are unable to begin

<sup>1</sup> *Helsingin Sanomat*, 24 Sept. and 3 Dec. 1933

<sup>2</sup> ELJAS KAHRA, Secretary of the Unemployment Committee. *Programme of Work for 1933-1934*. Helsinki, 1933

or continue an apprenticeship and to enable unemployed juveniles to employ their spare time by following the courses in question. Nevertheless, the above provision is to apply only if unemployed juveniles are admitted free to vocational courses, as the supplementary benefit granted for unemployed children is too small to support the cost of study.

At a session in December 1933, the Superior Council for Technical Education noted that attendance at compulsory vocational courses had decreased from 172,000 pupils in 1932 to 152,000 in 1933. It therefore decided that (1) committees should be set up by agreement between the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry responsible for technical education to enforce the application of the statutory provisions relating to unemployment benefit, and (2) that Parliament and the administrative authorities concerned, together with the occupational organisations, should take the measures necessary to counteract the consequences of juvenile unemployment by ensuring attendance at existing vocational courses, by promoting and encouraging steps for the establishment of vocational courses in places where none existed, and by introducing facilities for technical education to make up for the insufficiency of vocational courses in districts particularly hard hit by unemployment.<sup>1</sup>

Further, in a number of cases, young workers' organisations with headquarters in the local employment exchanges have been attached to the departmental unions of the General Confederation of Labour. In addition, towards the middle of 1933 the extension to the unemployed of the courses given in the Higher Labour Institute and the labour colleges recently founded under the auspices of the General Confederation of Labour and intended mainly for the general education of trade union workers was contemplated. A number of cheap lodging-houses for young workers have also been organised since 1929 by the National League of Youth Hostels and by the Secular Association of Youth Hostels in order to permit young persons of limited means to utilise their spare time by travelling across certain parts of France, but these facilities, while being open to unemployed juveniles, are not meant specially for them.

The Young Christian Workers' League, in collaboration with the Christian League of Young Women Workers, has done all in its power to assist young unemployed persons of both sexes. The two organisations concentrated their efforts on Paris and certain industrial centres. Their aim was to bring young unemployed persons together so as to help them to find employment, to prevent them from sinking to the depths of poverty, to provide opportunities for meeting in an atmosphere of comradeship and, above all, to continue their general and vocational training.

Among the methods adopted by these organisations was the publication during 1932 and 1933 of a special paper entitled *Le Jeune Chômeur*, which has since been replaced by articles on juvenile unemployment which appear regularly in *La Jeunesse Ouvrière* (a fortnightly publication with a circulation of 90,000 copies). The organisations also collect donations and organise lotteries so as to obtain funds for their work, while old clothes are also collected for distribution to the unemployed. Personal enquiries were carried out among the families of young unemployed persons so as to discover any cases of exceptional gravity and to exercise a direct moral influence.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Vox du Peuple*, June 1933, p. 514, and 6 Jan. 1934, p. 34.



In June 1932, the J O C opened an unemployment centre in Paris for the Paris district. In one single year this centre was visited by 5,000 unemployed juveniles. During one year it managed to find jobs for some 600 juveniles. A large number of meals, in addition to soup rations, were served daily, about 15,000 free meals being served in the course of one year. Clothes and footwear were distributed to about one thousand young persons, and free accommodation was found in some cases. At this hostel unemployed juveniles also found washing facilities and the wherewithal for reading, writing, the execution of small jobs, recreation, organising excursions, etc. By about the middle of 1934 the Paris centre had collected 300,000 francs in donations and had helped 2,000 young persons to find employment<sup>1</sup>.

In Germany a large number of measures have been taken to provide instruction for the unemployed. Courses of education and vocational retraining have been organised by the employment exchanges acting in conjunction with various local institutions, such as the Young Persons' Office, the school authorities and private associations. The employment exchanges bear part of the cost in virtue of section 137 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, which authorises the chairmen of the exchanges to "establish or assist institutions for continued vocational and educational retraining out of the moneys of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance". An Order issued by the President of the Institution on 30 September 1927 stipulates that not only unemployed persons in receipt of benefit but also those who on account of their youth have not completed the necessary qualifying period may attend these courses. Further, the Unemployment Insurance Act exempts unemployed persons who follow a special course from the obligation to report regularly at an employment exchange, which as a rule is compulsory for all unemployed in receipt of benefit. These various measures have led to the establishment of a vast number of courses suitable for various classes of unemployed juveniles of both sexes. The length and frequency of the courses varies greatly, weekly attendance may amount to as much as thirty-six hours, the length of a course does not exceed three months but the same person may follow several courses successively.

In 1931, the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance announced that 11,700 of these courses were in operation with an aggregate attendance of 330,885 unemployed juveniles. It was found possible to place from 20 to 40 per cent of the pupils of certain courses in normal employment because their vocational skill had been maintained or increased<sup>2</sup>.

A specially intensive campaign was carried out in this field during the period between 1 April 1932 and 31 March 1933, particularly during the winter of 1932-1933. A report published in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt* gives a summary of the numerous measures undertaken and mentions a number of interesting facts arising out of their application.

During the period under review, 527,000 young persons including 156,000 girls, took part in the vocational training courses organised by the employment exchanges or with their assistance. This figure exceeded the number of the previous year by nearly 200,000. The principal districts in which such courses were organised were those of the employment exchanges of the Rhineland, with 96,000 students, Westphalia and

<sup>1</sup> *Dossiers de l'Action populaire*, 25 Feb 1934, and *La Jeunesse Ouvrière*, 1934, official number.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst HERRNSTADT *Die Lage der arbeitslosen Jugend in Deutschland* Berlin, Prussian Ministry of Welfare, 1931.



Silesia with 66,000, Saxony with 48,000 and Brandenburg with 44,000. Of the 18,680 courses of vocational training, nearly 14,000 courses with about 400,000 students were organised between 1 October 1932 and 31 March 1933, in conjunction with the Relief Movement established about Christmas 1932. In most cases these courses were organised according to occupational groups. It was the young skilled workers who felt most acutely the need to maintain their vocational skill. The courses for skilled workers were followed by 244,000 young persons, next came courses for salaried employees with 101,069 students, courses for unskilled workers with 68,831 students, of whom 14,273 were women, courses for unemployed persons of various occupations with 51,064 students, and agricultural courses with 23,068 students, while courses of domestic training were followed by 71,897 girls. As the experience of previous years had shown that, generally speaking, young unemployed persons do not take an interest in theoretical lessons unless they are directly connected with their work, the courses have a noticeably practical trend and their centre is usually the workshop.

During the winter of 1931-1932, the organisers of the courses had already obtained the use of several disused workshops for the practical training of young persons, but this was still an exception. During the winter of 1932-1933 this movement became general, in the industrial areas especially, employers recognised the real value of the courses for the training of workers, and handed over to them workshops and other disused premises in great numbers.

One of the best results of these training courses is that they restore to young unemployed persons a liking for work. It is necessary to rouse young people from their lethargy and to awaken in them habits of tidiness, punctuality and regular effort. Once this first object has been obtained and the young man—thanks to the practical nature of the courses—sees the result of his work, his vigour and knowledge increase, and he regains confidence in himself. Courses of vocational training are to-day an almost essential condition for placing in employment. The placing of young people in employment in agriculture, for instance, which was undertaken in the spring of 1933, was only made possible, according to the unanimous view of those best qualified to judge, by the courses of vocational training in which young unemployed persons recover discipline and the taste for work.

As regards the Relief Movement established in December 1932, it may be recalled that its object was not merely to increase but to co-ordinate all the measures taken on behalf of young persons, so as to keep them occupied continuously for at least four hours in the day by combining courses of vocational training with those of general education and physical culture. A hot meal was also to be supplied to the young persons. With these objects, central committees were established in all the districts, consisting of representatives of the local authorities, the employment exchange, the Young Persons' Office, and all other societies or institutions concerned with young persons. In order to associate young unemployed persons themselves with the work, they were invited to establish voluntary societies from their own number. The Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance was to co-operate in this work by organising or encouraging the organisation of vocational training centres. It was also entrusted with the administration of the credit granted by the Federal Government for the meals to be supplied.

Once established, the Relief Movement developed rapidly. Towards the middle of March 1933 some 250,000 young unemployed persons under 25 were benefiting under it. The Movement has also brought to light a

number of interesting facts. In the first place, contrary to what might be expected, it does not appear that the free meals offered to young unemployed persons have acted as an inducement to enrolment in the courses. On the contrary, the unemployed have often expressed the desire that instead of receiving meals they should be given the means of repairing their shoes or clothes, the organisers have attempted to meet this desire as far as possible. Moreover, young unemployed persons have often preferred their meagre fare at home to the collective meals offered them. For most of them what was essential was to be able to find intelligent occupation in the vocational training courses. Out of 7,052 programmes drawn up within the Relief Movement, about 5,900 included vocational training courses, this fact explains the great extension of these courses during the winter of 1932-1933. Another point to be noted is that, contrary to the instructions given by the Relief Movement, the societies which the young unemployed persons were to form have hardly ever been established spontaneously. These societies have almost always been created through the existing organisations, whether religious, sporting or other, or else have been formed simply of the members of the vocational training courses already in progress, and supplemented by other measures as suggested by the Movement. Generally speaking, it has been found that the mere fact of unemployment is not enough to give rise to a true spirit of comradeship, in order to combine, individuals need some other link than unemployment. Further, the experience of the Movement has shown that it is better not to attempt too much. In the application of the complete programmes of four hours a day including vocational training, general education, physical culture, collective meals and sometimes even a small amount of social welfare work, some part of the programme has always to be neglected in the end. The Movement would probably have been more effective if it had aimed at more modest objects. Finally, in spite of the goodwill of the various authorities, associations and societies collaborating in the Relief Movement, their co-operation has sometimes been excessively slow and not without friction. The result has often been that all the practical work has had to be entrusted to a single person, usually the director of the employment exchange.<sup>1</sup>

As a further measure on behalf of unemployed juveniles it may be noted that in several districts of Germany appeal has been made to the employers urging them to engage a larger number of apprentices in their establishments.

In *Great Britain* provision for the education and training of the unemployed takes several different forms. For boys and girls under 18 there are courses of instruction, for adults over 18 there are training centres and instructional centres, and in addition there are occupational and other centres organised by private initiative with the approval of the Government.

The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1920, provided that a claimant for benefit might be required by an insurance officer to attend a course of instruction approved by the Minister of Labour after consultation with the Board of Education. Instruction centres for unemployed boys and girls were in due course established, but in the first place on a temporary basis only. The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1930, was the first Act which required the Minister definitely to make arrangements

---

<sup>1</sup> *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, No. 33, 25 Oct. 1933, II, p. 441-444.

with local education authorities for the provision of approved courses of instruction for juvenile claimants

As a result of this measure there was a considerable development of junior instruction centres and classes. The distinction between these two is that the "centres" are self-contained educational units established in areas where there is a substantial amount of juvenile unemployment, while the "classes" are self-contained classes conducted in conjunction with an existing educational institution and established in areas where juvenile unemployment is less severe. In addition, unemployed juveniles in certain areas attend classes which are already attended by ordinary students, these are mostly evening classes.

The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1930, further provided that insured contributors under the age of 18 should attend approved courses of instruction as a condition for the receipt of benefit. It may be recalled in this connection that up to the summer of 1934 the age of admission to the unemployment insurance scheme was 16, but a similar condition was often applied to the payment of dependants' benefit in respect of unemployed juveniles of 14 to 16. In addition, the local public assistance authorities in some districts also required attendance at a course of instruction in respect of relief given by them. Efforts have also been made to encourage other juveniles who are not claimants for benefit or assistance at all to attend the courses voluntarily.

The centres and classes are open, free of charge, to all unemployed boys and girls in the area concerned. The instruction does not aim at providing training for specific occupations but is designed to keep boys and girls physically fit and mentally alert during periods of enforced idleness and thereby to facilitate their absorption into employment. Practical work generally forms a substantial portion of the curriculum, and frequently young persons are taught to repair their own clothes, boots and shoes, etc.

During the year 1933 the aggregate number of individuals who attended centres and classes was about 101,600, the average daily attendance varying from less than 7,000 in the first week of January, to more than 20,000 in the third week of February. In addition, about 8,800 boys and girls attended evening classes the largest number at any one time being 1,855 boys and 1,577 girls in February. A very small number of boys and girls (84) attended special courses generally at technical colleges or schools as a condition for the receipt of benefit.

Under the Unemployment Act, 1934, which received the royal assent at the end of June, the statutory provision relating to juveniles has been extended. That Act requires every education authority to submit to the Minister of Labour proposals for the provision of such courses of instruction as may be necessary for unemployed boys and girls in its area, and if the Minister approves the proposals the authority must provide the courses accordingly. The courses are to comply with the provisions of a scheme drawn up by the Minister of Labour with the consent of the Treasury and after consultation with the Board of Education. These provisions are intended to give the Minister of Labour power to compel local education authorities to set up courses of instruction if necessary and thus to increase the number of such courses. Another clause of the Act empowers the Minister to require the attendance at any authorised course of all juveniles under 18 whether claiming benefit or not, provided they are capable of and available for work and have no work or only part-time or intermittent work. Boards of assessors may be appointed to report on the advisability of requiring persons to attend such courses. Shortly before this Act was passed, the Minister of Labour asked all

education authorities who would be concerned in the provision of junior instruction centres to review the position in their areas and in particular to consider the questions of staff and accommodation. The Minister said it was important to get the best men available for the difficult service of teaching in centres in which the classes are constantly changing and pupils may at any time obtain employment and leave.

In July 1934 the Minister invited local education authorities to submit proposals for the provision of courses of instruction. According to a Memorandum issued at the same time, the standard rate of grant payable in respect of junior instruction centres will be equal to 75 per cent. of the net expenditure approved by the Minister. Grants in excess of the standard rate may be made to authorities in certain districts where unemployment is particularly intense.

In districts where the numbers of unemployed boys and girls justify such a step, the local education authorities will be required to provide courses of instruction in special centres. Where their number is not sufficient to justify the establishment of such centres, junior instruction classes will be set up in conjunction with some existing institution for higher education. The grants towards the cost of such courses will be paid by the Ministry only in respect of additional cost falling on the authorities.

When the number of unemployed juveniles in an area makes it impossible or undesirable to establish a junior instruction class, arrangements may be made for the admission of unemployed boys and girls to existing educational institutions, more particularly those for higher education. These institutions will generally organise evening classes, but in some areas day classes may be available for the unemployed. Unemployed boys and girls possessing higher education or industrial qualifications will, if possible, be given instruction in special technical, commercial and art schools, and day continuation schools. The privilege of being sent to a special instruction course will normally be confined to boys and girls who have at least ten contributions to their credit. Those attending the courses will be regarded as at all times available for employment. Courses of instruction given solely in the day-time must be for not less than fifteen and not more than thirty hours per week.

A considerable number of the instructors will be certificated teachers, but the Ministry states that it is found that skilled craftsmen frequently prove themselves excellent teachers of practical subjects.

With regard to adults (over 18 years of age) a variety of schemes are provided. For men there are Government training centres, instructional centres and physical training centres. For women domestic training centres are carried on by the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment, on behalf of the Ministry of Labour. In addition, a number of local authorities have established schemes of training and instruction for persons in receipt of poor relief<sup>1</sup>, and there are also voluntary schemes for the occupation and recreation of the unemployed.

The Government training centres, which date from 1925, were established in the first place to help young men who, owing to the war and subsequent industrial depression, had had little or no opportunity of learning a skilled trade or of obtaining regular employment. The scheme was successful and in 1927 it was extended to men from depressed mining areas who had little opportunity of obtaining employment in their own trade and district. Since that time the scheme has gradually

---

<sup>1</sup> ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE *Final Report*, p. 328 Cmd 4185.

been still further extended to include men from any depressed area. The centres are usually established in areas where industry is developing so that opportunities for employment may be found close at hand when the course is finished. The number of trainees accepted under the scheme is strictly limited by the capacity of industry to absorb the trainees and consequently the number varies greatly at different times. For the same reason the trades in which training is given are changed from time to time.

At the end of 1933 there were eight training centres in operation with total accommodation for 3,190 men at any one time. The total number admitted to training during the year 1933 was 5,298, making a total number admitted since 1925 of 43,195. Of these, 34,164 completed their training or were placed in employment during the course.

Training is not imposed as a condition for the receipt of benefit, although this is permitted by the Unemployment Insurance Acts. But so far there has been no difficulty in obtaining as many trainees as there are places available. The trainees are selected by a selection committee from among the registered unemployed, special importance being attached to the aptitude of the candidates for one of the trades in which training is given. Men of 18 to 45 years of age are eligible, but in fact most of the trainees are under 30. They are accepted on probation in the first instance for a fortnight and those who are considered unsuitable are rejected at the end of that period.

Working hours are arranged more or less as in a factory, beginning at 8 a.m. and finishing at 4.30 p.m., with half an hour for lunch which is provided by the centre. The course lasts six months. The trades in which men are trained include various kinds of building work, furniture making, coach-building, metal trades, gas and hot-water fitting, electric and oxy-acetylene welding, hairdressing, glass-bending, waiters' work, etc. In 1933, owing to industrial changes, courses in structural steel work, main laying and jointing were discontinued and courses in tile fixing and lead light making were introduced, while the waiters' class was enlarged. A certain amount of theoretical training is given to all the trainees by means of short lectures of a quarter of an hour each day and a longer lecture once a week.

The trainees live either at home or in lodgings. The former receive 2s. per week in addition to their benefit, a free midday meal and reasonable travelling expenses. The latter receive an amount which is estimated to leave them 5s. per week when board and lodging have been paid for. Married men if living away from home receive an extra allowance. The cost of the centres is about 30s. per head per week in addition to the ordinary unemployment benefit.

The instructional centres differ from those which have just been described in that their object is not to train men for specific trades but to recondition them and make them fit once more to accept employment. At the end of 1933 there were twelve of these centres, of which two were non-residential, with a total accommodation for 2,420 men, and the number has been increased since then. The total number of men admitted to these centres from their inauguration in 1929 down to the end of 1933 was 38,255.

As in the case of the training centres, the men who attend the instructional centres are volunteers and they consist of young men of 18 years of age and upwards. They generally live in hutments or under canvas.

The course lasts for twelve weeks and the work consists mainly of forest clearing, roadmaking, drainage, timbering, excavating and levelling. In addition, a certain amount of instruction is given in rough

carpentry, boot repairing, elementary metal work and ordinary educational subjects

The men receive, in addition to their benefit, board and lodging and work-clothes, a sum of 4s per week for pocket money. The cost of the course is about 14s 4d per week per head, in addition to the benefit, and the cost of starting a camp is between £8,000 and £12,000.

A third type of activity provided by the Ministry of Labour is the maintenance of physical training centres in areas of heavy unemployment. Attendance at these centres is voluntary and the curriculum consists of physical training exercises, talks on matters relating to physical training, hygiene, etc., and games. During 1933, 9,000 men took advantage of these centres. Some of the centres have been taken over by voluntary agencies and are now being continued by them. Altogether, twenty-seven centres have been opened by the Government and twenty-one of them have been taken over by voluntary bodies.

With regard to women, training is carried out by the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment, which receives an annual grant from the Ministry and the unpaid members of which are appointed by the Minister of Labour. The Committee gives two main types of training: (a) domestic training in Home Training Centres and (b) individual vocational training.

The purpose of the Home Training Centres is to train women and girls over the age of 15 (and in exceptional cases over 14½) for domestic work. The centres may be either residential or non-residential. Applicants must be willing to enter resident domestic employment on completion of training. The trainee does not draw unemployment benefit, but in the residential centres she receives 2s 6d per week (1s for juveniles of 15), in addition to travelling expenses to the centre, and free lodging and maintenance, and in the non-residential centres she receives a maintenance allowance which varies according to age, the maximum being 18s per week. This is subject to small deductions for meals, cost of outfit and in some cases fares to the centres.

Instruction is usually given in a house rented and furnished by the Central Committee in order that the conditions of training may approximate as nearly as possible to those obtaining in private houses. In the non-residential centres the training is normally thirteen weeks and the curriculum includes general housework, cookery, laundry and needlework. In the residential centres the course is usually of eight weeks' duration and the training is more intensive in character than in the other centres.

There are thirty-one centres in operation, six of these being residential. In 1933, 4,682 women and girls completed their training and 3,846 entered domestic employment, while 94 found other work. A special enquiry made during the year among 1,000 girls, half of whom had left the centres about six months before and the other half about twelve months before, showed that 65 per cent were still in domestic employment. Most of the remaining 35 per cent had left their employment for such reasons as ill-health, or because they were required at home.

The individual vocational training scheme is intended for women who desire other kinds of employment. Successful candidates are placed in recognised training schools, the fees being paid by the Government, and a maintenance allowance is paid to the trainee varying according to her means up to a maximum of £1 per week. Candidates for this training must be registered unemployed women over 18 years of age who have no prospect of reabsorption in their own occupation and who cannot obtain fresh employment without assisted training. Instruction is

given in shorthand and typewriting, comptometer and other clerical machine operating, cookery, nursery nursing, midwifery and institutional housekeeping. During 1933 seventy-two grants were made under this scheme and by December 820 persons in all had completed training, since the beginning of the scheme.

Under the Unemployment Act, 1934, the provisions relating to training both of men and of women have been amended to some extent. Not only may the Minister of Labour provide training courses or contribute towards the cost of such courses organised by other bodies, but the new Unemployment Assistance Board, which has been appointed to assist persons who are not insured or who have exhausted their right to benefit, is also empowered, subject to the approval of the Minister of Labour, to provide such courses. The approval which has to be given by the Minister of Labour is no doubt a guarantee that there will be co-ordination between the Ministry and the Board. In continuance of the training courses the Board may also enter into agreements with local authorities under which unemployed persons may be employed on work for the authorities which is of such a character as will render them more fit for regular employment. Such employment must not exceed three months and the rate of wages must be that customary in the district.

In addition to the above provision made by the Ministry of Labour a certain number of schemes are also operated by local authorities for men who are for one reason or another not entitled to insurance benefit or assistance allowances and are in receipt of outdoor relief under the Poor Law. Under the Relief Regulation Order, 1930, local authorities in England and Wales but not in Scotland are required to formulate "such arrangements as may, in the circumstances of their area, be practicable" for setting unemployed men in receipt of outdoor relief to work and for training and instructing them. The latest statement available with regard to such arrangements relates to June 1932 when 117 authorities had schemes in operation. The number of men set to work, trained or instructed by public assistance authorities during March 1932 was about 22,000.

Finally, a large number of voluntary organisations have made provision for the occupation and recreation of the unemployed under the auspices of the National Council of Social Service which undertook, at the request of the Government, to co-ordinate and stimulate these various activities. Government grants (£50,000 in 1934) are made to assist councils' work and to enable them to afford financial assistance to schemes of occupations for the unemployed on the understanding that corresponding amounts are raised from other sources. It is the view of the Government that "nothing which the Government can or should do in providing facilities for the unemployed lessens the need for voluntary efforts such as have been reflected in the setting up of the voluntary centres"<sup>1</sup>

The schemes are of a very varied nature and consist of (1) occupational centres, (2) the provision of physical training facilities, (3) work on allotments, (4) the increase of public amenities, (5) educational activities, and (6) recreational centres. Their main purpose is to help the unemployed to fight against the demoralisation which long spells of unemployment inevitably cause. The work is quite voluntary and a minimum of discipline is imposed solely for the maintenance of law and order. In some cases the centres are organised in the form of clubs to

---

<sup>1</sup> Speech by the Minister of Labour in the House of Commons (See *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, 21 June 1934.)



which the unemployed persons contribute a penny a week and in which they elect a committee to administer the centre

In the occupational centres the unemployed do various kinds of work such as making things for the centre itself or for themselves and their families, repairing boots and shoes, etc

Allotments have been organised mainly by certain local authorities and by the Society of Friends. With the aid of a Government grant of £12,500 the Society provided a large number of allotments in 1933. It has also taken steps to establish a co-operative scheme of production and marketing for vegetables, fruit, eggs, poultry, etc

Work in connection with the increase of public amenities has consisted largely in laying out parks and recreation grounds, building swimming pools, etc, which would not otherwise have been done at all through lack of funds

Finally, there are the purely recreational centres where unemployed persons have an opportunity of reading, playing games and in various ways occupying their enforced leisure

Under this heading reference may also be made to certain camps which have been set up for the benefit of unemployed men. An example of such camps is to be found in the so-called Grith Fyrd camp in Hampshire, which is open to any physically and mentally fit unemployed man between the ages of 18 and 25. The men continue to receive any unemployment benefit to which they are entitled while they are in camp. They are required, as far as possible, to meet their own needs and, after the preliminary work of building semi-permanent quarters and preparing a plot of land for cultivation, they undertake such work as camp construction, road-making and water supply. At the first camp, which was started in the spring of 1932, the men represented a variety of occupations such as wood-cutting machinist, electrician, bank clerk, boot repairer, draper's assistant, coal merchant's traveller, etc. The length of stay in the camp is approximately eighteen months. It was intended to start a number of camps on these lines, but the movement has not in fact extended very far up to now.

During the summer of 1934 a considerable number of holiday camps were established in which unemployed men were able to spend a week's holiday. The men made a contribution towards their keep and the balance was paid partly by special regional committees set up in a number of industrial areas and partly by the National Council of Social Service. An experiment of a similar character was also tried in respect of family holidays, arrangements having been made for a number of unemployed men and their families to spend a week's holiday at a centre organised for the purpose<sup>1</sup>

One of the voluntary efforts which has attracted special attention is the Brynmawr scheme which came into existence soon after the war. Brynmawr is a small town of between 7,000 and 8,000 persons in South Wales which was formerly dependent entirely on coal mines which are practically worked out. The Society of Friends intervened to help the local community and a council was formed to organise measures of self-help. From this it proceeded to develop work for the benefit of the local community and finally a number of new industries such as boot-making, furniture-making, weaving, etc, were started.

On 31 March 1933 it was estimated that about 250,000 men and women were taking advantage of voluntary welfare facilities in approximately 750 towns and villages. At the height of the summer the attendance

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Manchester Guardian*, 22 June 1934



dropped slightly, but with the return of winter the numbers rose again and on 31 December 1933 the total number of committees with welfare schemes in operation was about 1,075, at the same date about 1,243 occupational centres and 882 recreational centres were in existence

In *India* the Government of the Province of Delhi appointed a Surveyor of Industries in 1925 to organise industrial training for the unemployed youth of the Province. Among other measures instituted by the Surveyor was the establishment of an industrial laboratory in which industrial research is undertaken with a view to setting up new industries not requiring much capital outlay in which unemployed young persons can be employed. The laboratory also serves as a training centre and so far about 100 young persons have been trained in a wide range of minor industries, such as the manufacture of toilet requisites, perfumes, hair dyes, varnishes, inks, mirrors, etc. The Surveyor also does his best to stimulate cottage industries. Persons applying for assistance to the Surveyor belong to all classes of society.

In *Italy* assistance and vocational training for unemployed juveniles is organised mainly under the auspices of the *Opera Nazionale Ballila*, an institution set up by Act 2247 of 3 April 1926 for the assistance and moral and physical education of Italian youth. This institution includes practically all Italian boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 18 in separate organisations: the *Ballila* for boys of 8 to 14 years, the *Avanguardisti* for those of 14 to 18 years, and the *Piccole Italiane* and *Giovani Italiane* for girls of the same age groups.

These bodies carry on a wide range of activities in connection with general education, vocational training and the organisation of sports and recreation.

As regards vocational instruction, it may be noted that during 1931 the provincial and local committees of the *Opera Nazionale* organised 1,169 vocational guidance courses, which were attended by 23,800 pupils, but no information is available as regards the percentage of unemployed juveniles in that number.

Again, in certain provinces, including Verona and Turin, the *Istituto Nazionale Fascista della Previdenza Sociale* arranged vocational courses for unemployed youth, for the upkeep of which it grants subsidies authorised under Royal Decree 3158 of 30 December 1923 respecting unemployment insurance. In accordance with the Decree, the Institute aims at training young unemployed persons in specialised trades which will help them to find employment or guide them towards new occupations offering better chances of immediate employment.

During the school year 1931-1932, theoretical and practical courses were held in Verona for joiners and cabinet-makers, engineers and metal workers and builders' labourers. These were attended by 229 unemployed young persons, the total days of attendance being 13,156. Further, 170 unemployed girls who totalled 10,484 days of attendance, followed commercial classes, courses in cutting-out and dressmaking, machine knitting, the making of underclothes, machine embroidery and ironing.

In Turin, similar classes were arranged from 1928 onward for a wide range of trades. During the past five years the courses have been attended on an average by 636 unemployed persons per year, between the ages of 16 and 30. The courses lasted from five to seven months. Fifty per cent of the pupils found work before the end of the course, 30 per cent immediately afterwards, while of the remaining 20 per cent some were called to the colours, and no information concerning the others is

available. At the outset, attendance at such courses was a condition attached to the grant of unemployment benefit, but after the third year enrolment was voluntary and it was noted that attendance at both the theoretical and practical courses was maintained at a high level without any necessity for penalties.

The *Istituto Nazionale Fascista della Previdenza Sociale* bears the cost of schooling, supplies pupils with the necessary equipment, and pays the tram fares of the pupils, etc. After the examinations, the best pupils are given prizes in the form of savings books <sup>1</sup>.

In *Luxemburg* the Grand Ducal Decree of 14 April 1934 makes provision for measures for the vocational training of unemployed juveniles. The Government grants subsidies for the instruction of indigent unemployed juveniles of Luxemburg nationality in certain given trades where offers of employment exceed demands for work. These subsidies amount in the crafts to 8 francs per working day during the first year of apprenticeship and to 5 francs a day during the second year, and to 8 francs per working day for nine months in the building trades. Furthermore, the State bears the cost of the employers' and workers' contributions towards social services. In agriculture and viticulture the employer and the apprentice both receive an indemnity of 600 francs for a period of one year's training. These payments are made through the employment exchanges and are granted only in so far as the number of apprentices corresponds to an extension of the undertaking concerned and with possibilities of instruction <sup>2</sup>.

In *Norway* during recent years a certain number of training and vocational courses have been organised for young unemployed persons. These courses have in most cases been of a special vocational character, but some courses of a more general nature have also been arranged. Usually the courses are organised by the municipal authorities with certain grants from the Treasury in cases where the municipalities cannot afford to pay all the expenses.

The Government and the local authorities have also in several cases made special grants-in-aid to existing technical and professional schools in order to put them in a position to admit a larger number of pupils from the ranks of the young unemployed.

The workers' organisations have arranged some courses for unemployed young people on much the same lines as the educational activity ordinarily carried on by the Workers' Educational Association. These courses are of a theoretical and political rather than a practical character, and include the study of social economics, municipal legislation and practice, social hygiene, the history of the Norwegian and of the international labour movement, the history of the co-operative movement and so on. These educational arrangements have been paid for exclusively by the workers' organisations themselves, and have up till now not received any grants from public authorities.

In *New Zealand* the Unemployment Acts of 1930-1932, which mainly make provision for the assistance of unemployed adults (i.e. persons over 20 years of age) do not embody any special provisions applying to young persons. Nevertheless, the severity of unemployment among

---

<sup>1</sup> Communication from the *Istituto Nazionale Fascista della Previdenza Sociale*.

<sup>2</sup> Memorandum of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, 18 April 1934.

youths under 20 years of age led the Unemployment Board to adopt a number of special measures in 1931 and 1932

Thus, the Unemployment Board has facilitated the activities of voluntary organisations in this field by way of special grants. A small special scheme of an experimental nature was conducted by the Board in 1932-1933, under which youths contracted to remain one year on sheep stations. An arrangement was made for the boys to obtain a general knowledge of farm work. A sum of 2s 6d or 5s according to circumstances was paid to the boys as pocket money. About 100 boys were engaged on this scheme in January 1933. The Board has also authorised the payment of a subsidy for the training of sons of New Zealand soldiers at an agricultural training school.

During 1932 an enquiry into juvenile unemployment was carried out by two Members of Parliament whose report<sup>1</sup> to the Government in December 1932 contained recommendations urging the organisation of vocational instruction, the granting of facilities for employment in farms and for rural settlement and for the limitation of the restrictions concerning apprenticeship.

In view of the fact that the Unemployment Acts make no special provision for the granting of assistance to unemployed women and girls, the Unemployment Board has set up Women's Employment Committees in the four most important centres and, latterly, in certain towns of less importance. Instruction centres for cooking, sewing and other domestic occupations have been set up in the four most important towns. Certain meals and clothing are supplied free of charge and women and girls without a home are housed at the expense of the Unemployment Fund by various private philanthropic institutions for women.<sup>2</sup>

In the town of Oamaru, the Youths' Employment Committee has started technical classes for unemployed boys and girls, but the response was not very great. The Committee therefore offered to pay the fees of applicants. They have also given an opportunity to unemployed girls to occupy their time in making garments for people in need or for themselves.

The Canterbury Education Board, at a meeting held on 20 April 1934, unanimously urged the Education Department to provide educational facilities for young persons who are unable to find work.

The New Zealand Technical School Teachers' Association suggested at its annual conference in November 1933 that welfare work for young people should be permanent and not merely a depression activity. The formation of a National Advisory Council of Youth Employment was proposed, and it was urged that employment bureaux should provide instructional and recreational occupation for young unemployed persons.

In the *Netherlands* measures to counteract juvenile unemployment are directed by a special Committee of a semi-official character—the *Landelijke Commissie ter Bestrijding van de Gevolgen de Jeugdwerkloosheid*.

The initial steps taken by this body were intended mainly to provide unemployed young persons with recreation which would take them off the streets. Later, courses of general and vocational training were instituted.

In *Poland*, so far as the Office is aware, no steps have been taken for the organisation on a large scale of courses or other means of vocational and

---

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Paper H-35 B. Wellington, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> NEW ZEALAND *Report of the Unemployment Board*, 1932, Parliamentary Paper H-35, and the *New Zealand Official Year Book*, 1933, p. 609.

general education intended exclusively for unemployed young persons. The Society for the Assistance of Unemployed Youth, a semi-official body set up recently to organise voluntary labour centres for unemployed youth, proposes, among other things, to provide for instruction and education for unemployed young persons. Educational measures and plans for the utilisation of spare time have also been arranged in different forms by social institutions on behalf of the younger generation in general, but in times of acute unemployment advantage may easily be taken of these measures to help unemployed juveniles.

Steps taken by the Intellectual Workers' Federation led in September 1933 to the setting up of an Institute of Vocational Training and Retraining. Although not intended solely for unemployed youth, this Institution will assuredly be a godsend for young non-manual workers out of employment. The declared objectives of the Institute are the study of the question of unemployment among non-manual workers, the vocational retraining of these workers with a view to their reincorporation in different branches of their former professions, and the organisation of employment facilities in occupations which hitherto have made little or no appeal to non-manual workers. In addition to other classes of workers, the Institute is required to do its best to help young persons who on finishing a higher educational course are unable to find work in a suitable career.

The courses for the vocational retraining of unemployed non-manual workers last six months. The first classes started were for salaried employees of private insurance companies. Classes have since been arranged for decorators, shop-window dressers, guides for tourist agencies, etc. Instruction is free for certain classes of pupils, while the more needy receive a free meal at midday. The necessary funds are obtained from individuals and organisations, the latter including trade unions, non-manual workers' insurance institutions, co-operative societies, the Employment Fund, etc.

In *Sweden* the Riksdag adopted on 12 July 1934 a Bill to counteract the unemployment of young persons which had been submitted by the Government on 28 April 1934, in accordance with the recommendations of a special expert committee set up to study the question.

The Bill adopted is based on the principle that unemployed youth should receive assistance in the form of vocational courses and work. It is considered that 8,000 young unemployed persons will follow these courses, that 5,000 will carry out voluntary labour service and that 2,000 will be put on special work intended for young workers. A sum of 5 ½ million crowns has been earmarked to subsidise the campaign against the unemployment of young persons. These measures were to come into force on 1 July 1934<sup>1</sup>.

In *Switzerland* measures have been taken in several cantons by the cantonal authorities and private organisations for the utilisation of the spare time of unemployed young persons as well as for their vocational education. In Geneva, for example, the Private Apprenticeship Office and the *Pro Juventute* Association opened, in 1933, a training centre for young persons who are unable to find employment after receiving their apprenticeship certificate. This measure was the direct result of an enquiry carried out among unemployed persons from 14 to 20 years

---

<sup>1</sup> *Tungt Maj ts Proposition*, No 265, 1934, and communication to the International Labour Office



The Federal Council estimates that the application of all these measures for the vocational training of the unemployed will involve an expenditure of about 500,000 francs a year for the Confederation. This assumes that a thousand persons will attend the courses regularly. If the average length of the courses is three months, the number of unemployed persons who could thus receive training for their future occupations would be about 4,000 or 5,000 annually.

In the *United States*, almost the only provision made by the Federal Government up to the spring of 1934 was in connection with the Civilian Conservation Corps Camps (which are described in the next chapter). It was realised that the unemployed persons attending those camps needed a certain amount of education and training, and it was consequently decided that the Office of Education should act in an advisory capacity to the War Department (responsible for organising the camps) on all matters affecting the educational programme of the camps. For each camp of about 200 men the Office of Education appoints an educational adviser, who organises the educational activities. The education is given mainly in the evening and at week-ends.

Apart from that, a number of schemes have been set up either by local authorities or by private organisations, but very little information is available about these schemes. It is, however, known that the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and similar organisations have enlarged their field of activity to help young unemployed persons, and correspondence study courses have been established in certain communities.

In Nebraska, for example, 112 relief study centres were established in January 1934 for boys and girls from the high schools (secondary schools) with an enrolment of 1,800 students. An eight weeks' programme of intensive study was offered. The University of Nebraska gave the courses without charging fees and students were required to pay only the actual expense of reference books and postage charges on lessons.

During 1934 the United States Office of Education convened a conference, which was attended by Government officials, experts on education, employment and recreation and representatives of youth organisations from all parts of the United States. This Conference recommended the establishment of a Federal Commission to help young people to solve the great difficulties with which they are faced and that this Commission should provide more effective facilities for giving them the kind of schooling, recreation and the position they need. The Commission should be appointed by the Federal Commissioner of Education and should represent various Government Departments and organisations concerned, a third of its members should be persons under 30 years of age.

In addition, the Conference proposed the establishment of a second Federal Commission on spare time to co-ordinate the activities of institutions working in that field throughout the United States. While this Commission would study the interests of people of all ages it would be especially concerned with the age-group between 16 and 25, since surveys have shown that this group is the most neglected by the competent organisations.

## Conclusions

From what has been said it is obvious that measures of a general character must be taken and have, in fact, been introduced in several countries to counteract the very serious moral effects which involuntary idleness has on unemployed young persons

The most important of these measures is undoubtedly the provision of facilities for the general education and vocational training of unemployed youth. There can be no doubt that the very best thing that can be done for these young people is to use their spare time to teach them a trade or to improve any vocational knowledge they already possess. Attendance at such classes as are arranged may, of course, be either compulsory or optional according to circumstances (age of the pupils, their position as regards unemployment insurance, etc.), while the courses themselves must vary to suit alike the requirements of young persons with no previous vocational training and of those whose working career has been interrupted by unemployment. Vocational education must include, in addition to theoretical work, a certain amount of practical training in workshops. In order to meet varied circumstances, instruction may be given either in the ordinary classes arranged for young persons or in specially organised classes. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Istanbul in September 1934 advocated that "such courses should as far as possible be organised within the framework of existing institutions and should be incorporated in their general programme in such a way that the young unemployed should mingle with other young people and should not regard themselves as a class apart."

In the absence of instruction in general or vocational subjects or in some cases as a complement to such instruction, steps are taken in a number of countries to provide young unemployed persons with opportunities for recreation which take them out of the streets, or with certain forms of social assistance such as free meals, facilities for washing and mending their clothes, etc.

These measures imply the setting up of social and educational centres, the organisation of sports and games, etc., in all of which the occupational, denominational, educational and other associations, acting in conjunction with the public authorities, can find unlimited scope for their activities.

The Fifth Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations and the Assembly itself (1934) approved the opinion expressed by the Child Welfare Committee that the only hope of saving young persons from the dangers with which unemployment threatened them lay in close collaboration between public authorities and private initiative and the co-ordination of all their efforts so as to secure maximum efficiency

Special care must be taken in drawing up the plan of studies to be followed in courses for young unemployed persons. The subjects taught, which should include matters of vocational, local, national and international interest, and the persons responsible for teaching these subjects must be chosen so as to awaken the interest of the pupils and to prevent them from regarding the classes as a sort of imposition. Similarly, the organisation of games and sports should not be based on a spirit of military compulsion, but should rather contribute to the development of a spirit of social service and team-work among young people

---



## CHAPTER IV

### PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATION FOR UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PERSONS

---

The measures for vocational training and general education considered in the previous chapter are intended to turn the enforced idleness of unemployed young persons to good account by using it to equip them more adequately for their future careers and to improve their general culture. These measures, by prolonging the education and training of young people, aim mainly at influencing their future. Schemes for the occupation of young persons by means of work of immediate productive value, on the other hand, are intended rather to provide for them at the present time.

Enrolment in employment centres is intended to give young people an opportunity of performing useful work, while at the same time they receive further training and education. This combination of productive occupation with training and education places the measures dealt with in this chapter in an intermediate position between the provisions for vocational or general instruction already examined and the measures for placing young persons in regular employment, which are discussed in the next chapter.

It is not intended to trace the origin of the various forms of productive occupation for unemployed young persons introduced in different countries. It may be noted, however, that the pioneers in this movement were very largely groups of college students who, long before employment centres for the unemployed were instituted, had in many countries organised labour camps for students wishing to spend their vacations in healthy outdoor surroundings while devoting their leisure to work of public utility.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Some interesting particulars on the origin of labour service in certain countries may be found in K. ERTING *Arbeitslager und freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst in Deutschland, Schweiz, Holland, Wales* Geneva, International Student Service, 1933.

These ventures did a great deal to propagate the idea of a labour service, and the experience gained from them has been used in organising employment centres for unemployed young persons

The various forms of productive employment for young workers appear to derive from three different conceptions which are always clearly distinguishable from one another, but which give a definite stamp to each of the different forms of organisation. The labour service may be looked upon

- (1) as an emergency measure, and in particular as a method of dealing with unemployment among young persons, this is the basis of most of the schemes now in force,
- (2) as an instrument for the economic development of the country by the execution of an instalment of the general public works programme, as a rule, the scheme undertaken must be one of undoubted public utility, but which would not be worth carrying out by workers paid at current rates,
- (3) as an educational measure, this was the idea underlying the early student ventures, and it is becoming more and more widely accepted as a means of combating the serious moral effects of unemployment on the younger workers concerned

In most of the countries in which a labour service for unemployed young persons is in force, however, the scheme is still at the stage of trial and experiment. Moreover, whereas any objections to the other measures to combat unemployment already dealt with in this Report or to be discussed in the next chapter relate not to questions of principle but merely to the application of the schemes, the introduction of a labour service has everywhere given rise to protests and opposition, sometimes of a very lively character. These objections bear mainly on two points. In the first place, especially where the system is compulsory or semi-compulsory, it is feared that the labour service may be made a pretext for giving a military training to the young generation. The idea of national service in the form of the more or less compulsory performance of work on behalf of the State is in itself suggestive in some measure of military service, while the discipline which is essential for the organisation of the centres but which may easily acquire a military flavour, the opportunities they offer of using the men's leisure to train them in military exercises, and, finally, the fact that the leaders and instructors are often ex-officers or non-commissioned

officers, all tend to provide a certain justification for such fears. This aspect of the question, which is often stressed by the workers' organisations in different countries, was brought forward and discussed at the Disarmament Conference. It was pointed out on that occasion that even if the labour service was not used for military purposes, it would nevertheless, if generally introduced on a compulsory basis, constitute a preparation for military life. The technical committee of the Special Committee on Effectives of the Disarmament Conference therefore recommended that "all physical, athletic or pre-military training of young people and all compulsory labour service of youths previous to their military service which would involve incorporation in permanent units or continuous service instead of exercises from time to time in addition to the normal activities of young persons should be prohibited, except in the case of preparatory military schools in the strict sense, and specialised high schools of physical training. The prohibition concerning the labour service would not apply in the case where the said service has for its sole object the providing of work for unemployed persons without resources" <sup>1</sup>

Similarly, the Interparliamentary Conference at Istanbul in September 1934, to which reference has already been made, advocated the institution of a *voluntary* labour service for unemployed young persons, but pointed out that "since the system of voluntary discipline appears to be undeniably superior both in its spirit and in its effects to the system of imposed discipline", if unemployed young persons are brought together in labour camps, "the discipline necessary for the accomplishment of the joint work must not in any way assume the character of a military training".

Another question which has been no less hotly debated is that of the competition of labour in such camps with adult workers in ordinary employment. It is frequently alleged that the organisation of an army of young workers does not diminish unemployment but merely transfers its incidence. Where young workers are employed on public works, the effect is simply to restrict the jobs available for older workers, many of whom are family breadwinners. Moreover, as the voluntary workers are paid below current rates, it is also said that the system tends to drag down conditions of employment in general. Thus the work given to unemployed young persons is represented as undercutting normal conditions of employment.

---

<sup>1</sup> LEAGUE OF NATIONS *Report of the Special Committee on Effectives to the General Commission*, p 14. Conf D 162 [Conf D /C S E 37]

on the labour market. This was the opinion of the workers' organisations, particularly in Austria, Germany and Poland, when voluntary labour service was introduced in those countries

This is a very serious problem, the solution of which is fraught with many practical difficulties. It can hardly be denied that the labour camps may set up competition with workers in ordinary employment, particularly in public works, the extent to which they actually do so, however, depends on the degree of care exercised in choosing the schemes to be carried out by the labour service. There is everywhere scope for a certain type of scheme which would be too expensive if carried out by adult labour on normal conditions, although it is of undoubted value to the community. Examples of such schemes are certain kinds of land improvement operations (draining or clearing land and preparing it for settlement), the building of local roads, river regulation, re-forestation and other forestry work, schemes to create facilities for sport or develop amenities (construction of sports grounds, bathing pools, parks, etc.) and other projects of similar kinds. In times of financial stress it may be impossible to carry out these works in the ordinary way, and hence there arises the idea of executing them with the help of unemployed young persons.

Schemes of this type have often been described as "extra" work. In practice, it may often be difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between "extra" work on the one hand and ordinary public works schemes on the other. The distinction varies according to the principles on which the voluntary labour service is based and according to the general economic development of each country. It is significant, for instance, that in the more advanced countries where there are fewer opportunities for new public works than in the economically backward countries, great care is taken to make a clear distinction between "extra" work and ordinary public works. In other countries, young unemployed workers are also employed on schemes which are not strictly speaking "extra" work, such as the construction of railway lines or main roads, etc.

Where young persons are given employment in workrooms, which is usual in the case of unemployed women and also for most of the men in cold weather, the danger of competition with adult labour takes another form. Here care is taken not to market the goods produced except within the centres themselves, this being the origin of the frequently observed tendency to organise the system on a self-sufficing basis, examples of which are especially common in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The centres are intended not only to provide their members with an occupation, but also to give them opportunities for physical training, education in citizenship and even sometimes vocational instruction. They aim at catering for every aspect of the life of the unemployed within a comprehensive scheme embracing occupation, education and the use of spare time. Side by side with the technical problems connected with the works themselves, the organisers of young workers' centres also have to solve educational problems which are sometimes of a very delicate kind. The camp leaders frequently have to deal with wild and unruly men and women who are quite unaccustomed to regular work, and who may take some time to get used to the regular life and physical exertion required of them. It is therefore the task of the leaders to transform an essentially undisciplined crowd of young people into an orderly team of workers—a task which often calls for quite outstanding qualities. Hence one of the first and principal cares of the authorities responsible for schemes for the productive employment of young workers is obviously that of providing an adequate staff of instructors and camp leaders. The experience of countries that have adopted the voluntary labour system shows that its success depends very largely on the quality of these leaders. The programmes of several training courses for camp leaders and instructors are given in Appendix II to this chapter (p. 124). It may be noted in passing that the staff is often recruited from among the young labour volunteers themselves, and that in countries where the labour service has been organised on a considerable scale their work is tending to become a distinct new profession.

The young people enrolled as voluntary workers are grouped in work centres usually situated away from towns. In these centres manual labour is the main feature of a daily routine which also includes physical exercises, sports and sometimes courses of general education, games, etc. The type of camp depends on the financial possibilities and degree of organisation attained. They may either be non-residential camps, where the members spend their days together and return at night to their own homes, or residential camps, which provide full board and lodging. The latter type is tending to become more and more common, since it corresponds most closely to the underlying purpose, which is to achieve a comprehensive and ordered community life.

An organisation of this kind is obviously somewhat costly. The expenses include the maintenance and clothing of the workers, the equipment of the centres, administrative organisation, some slight

cash remuneration, etc. This raises the problem of financing such schemes—a problem for which various solutions have been found. Two main methods may be distinguished. Under the first the State or a public institution for combating unemployment makes grants towards the organisation of the centres, or itself undertakes to set them up. In this case the bodies on whose behalf the work is carried out bear only a fraction of their general cost, for instance by providing the necessary tools, financing the organisation of the centres, etc., without having to pay the organising bodies wages for the work carried out on their behalf. This is the system adopted in Germany. Under an alternative system the grants from the public authorities are paid not to the organisers of the labour service, but to the bodies on whose behalf the work is carried out, the latter then hand over to the organisers amounts approximating to the workers' wages at current rates or at special rates fixed for relief works. This second system has been adopted in Austria and Czechoslovakia. In Poland both systems are used.

In most countries the task of organising the labour service is shared between two bodies. A social service organisation or State authority undertakes to set up the centres and organise the community life in them, while the actual carrying out of the schemes is left to the municipalities, public works departments, or other bodies directly concerned.

Labour services are intended to provide occupation for unemployed young persons of both sexes. As a rule, an age limit is fixed which varies from country to country but is nowhere higher than 25 years. A lower limit is fixed at 17 or 18 years, with the object of excluding mere boys and girls who would not be strong enough for camp life and are at an age when they can be more suitably dealt with by educational measures. The work provided for young women is naturally somewhat different in character from that done by young men. Whereas the latter are often set to perform really strenuous work, the former are usually employed on sewing, laundry work and household tasks, etc. It is only very occasionally that a special form of occupation is provided for skilled or professional workers.

The status of the young workers employed in labour camps is not the same as that of ordinary workers. No actual wages are paid, but merely a small cash allowance. They are entitled to board and lodging and usually to working clothes as well. As a rule they are covered by the provisions of labour legislation concerning hours of work, weekly rest, safety and health conditions,

and they are also insured against accidents and entitled to medical attendance. Their hours of work vary between thirty-three and forty in the week.

The duration of each worker's employment in an employment centre varies from a few weeks to a year. Under the voluntary labour service system, the members of a centre are free to leave it at any time, in some cases they are bound to do so if offered a regular job by an employment exchange.

With the exception of Bulgaria, Danzig and, to a certain extent, Germany, all the systems now in force are voluntary. Considered solely as an instrument for remedying unemployment, the labour service could hardly be anything but a voluntary organisation, unless compulsion can be held to reside in the fact that it applies only to unemployed persons and not to all persons of a specified age. A compulsory labour service applying to all young people irrespective of their economic circumstances certainly has an important influence on the labour market, but one that is indirect and more or less similar to that of compulsory military service.

A question which, though difficult, is highly important for the success of the system is that of the placing of young workers in employment after they leave the work centres. If after a few months in the labour service, where he is sheltered from the demoralising effects of a life of aimless idleness, the young worker is thrust back again into the same atmosphere as before, the moral benefit of his stay in the centre will soon be obliterated. Hence every effort is made to facilitate the placing of the young workers who leave the centres in normal employment with reasonable future prospects. These efforts are still in the experimental stage, and are apt to meet with considerable difficulty. The point is dealt with more fully in the chapter dealing with the placing of young workers. In order to keep alive the team spirit inculcated during the period of voluntary labour service, some countries have considered the establishment of co-operative labour groups to undertake land settlement work, public works or handicrafts.

Whatever the standpoint adopted in considering these attempts to find employment for unemployed young persons on productive work, it is impossible not to recognise the rapidity with which they have spread. Among the young people themselves such measures seem on the whole to have been welcomed. They see in the labour service a way of escape from the depressing atmosphere of their workless existence into a life which is more or less reasonably divided between work, sports, social activities and recreation.

The following pages give an account of the experiments undertaken in various countries with a view to providing productive occupation for unemployed young persons. It is supplemented by two appendices, Appendix I giving some typical time-tables of employment centres in certain countries and Appendix II particulars of the courses for leaders and instructors organised in several of the countries which have introduced a voluntary labour service.

### *Austria*

A voluntary labour service was introduced by an Act of 18 August 1932, subsequently amended on two occasions by Orders of 10 April and 23 December 1933.

This scheme, which has many points of resemblance with the German system in its original form, is primarily intended as an emergency measure. Labour service is defined as the voluntary participation of unemployed persons in work of public utility and extra work carried out by public institutions or other incorporated public utility bodies or bodies engaged in land settlement work. The voluntary character of the scheme was somewhat modified by the Order of 23 December 1933 which includes the provision that single unemployed men under 25 years of age who fail without good reason to avail themselves of the opportunity of enrolling as voluntary workers may have their emergency allowances refused or withdrawn.

The organisation of the labour camps is placed in the hands of public utility bodies, which may also be made responsible for carrying out the work.

The labour service is open to young men under 25 years of age who are in receipt of unemployment benefit or who have exhausted their right to benefit or emergency allowances, and to all other young men without resources. In exceptional cases the age limit of 25 years may be raised to 28 for workers in resident camps and for young unemployed men who have completed a course of higher education.

Voluntary workers who are entitled to unemployment benefit continue to receive it during their period of service. The Government, however, may instead grant a lump sum to the body organising the work provided that they undertake to maintain the workers. In the latter case the men do not draw benefit while in camp, but the period of their service is not taken into account in assessing their right to benefit. At the present time the lump sum is at the rate of 2.50 schillings per day and per head for unemployed workers entitled to benefit or allowances, and 2 schillings for those not entitled to benefit. The lump sum may be paid for forty weeks in every period of two years, but this period may be extended for men acting as camp leaders and for individual workers or groups, if it appears necessary for the maintenance of the camp's activity.

The lump-sum payment may be continued for not more than two years for land settlement work, provided that at the end of this period the work performed will enable the settlers to become self-supporting.

As regards the nature of the schemes undertaken, the Act of 18 August 1933 defined as extra work all work which could not be carried out without the assistance of the labour service, excluding work suitable for inclusion in schemes of productive unemployment relief, and in particular large-scale road-building schemes and building work except that carried out for land settlement purposes by members of a land



settlement society and their families Applications for the execution of a scheme by the voluntary labour service must be submitted by the organisers of the scheme to the competent district industrial commission (the public institution responsible for the administration of unemployment insurance), which considers the expediency of the scheme and may lay down certain conditions

The young women volunteers in the labour service are employed in making clothes for the unemployed and their families and are also taught household work They prepare their own meals and often those for the men's camps as well

Voluntary workers receive food, clothing and a daily allowance of 50 groschen They are insured against sickness, and in some cases against accident, by the bodies by whom the works are carried out The statutory regulations concerning hours of work, Sunday rest and all other provisions for the protection of the work and health of the workers apply to them in the same way as to workers in normal employment

In May 1934, 433 schemes were in progress employing 16,021 voluntary workers, of whom about 12 per cent were women Of these workers 22 per cent had been drawing unemployment benefit or allowances before entering the labour service The camps were organised by organisations for assisting young persons or for assistance to the peasantry, etc There were 199 residential camps accommodating 8,611 persons or 53.8 per cent of the total number

The vast majority of the schemes were carried out under the supervision of the industrial commissions and the remainder by the State Labour Service The proportions of voluntary workers employed by each of the various bodies on whose behalf the work was executed were as follows the State, 28 per cent, other public institutions, 45 per cent, land settlement associations, 4 per cent, youth organisations, 2 per cent, other organisations, 21 per cent The workers in residential camps were employed on the following jobs: correction of river banks (45 per cent of camps), preparation of sports grounds, forestry and social relief work (23 per cent), road work (19 per cent), miscellaneous (13 per cent)

### *Bulgaria*

The compulsory labour service introduced in 1920 was certainly not designed as a remedy for unemployment, being intended on the contrary to provide the State with labour for certain purposes which it found difficult to obtain by other means In times of depression, however, the Bulgarian compulsory labour service fulfils the same purpose as a voluntary labour service for the unemployed As the quota that may be conscripted annually is limited both by law and by the budgetary credits available, it is obvious that when unemployment is prevalent the unemployed will be the first to be recruited

The purpose of the compulsory labour service is to organise and use for social purposes the productive forces of the country, with a view to extending production and constructing works of public utility, promoting among citizens a sense of loyalty to the State and a taste for manual work, and improving the moral and economic conditions of the population

The Act distinguishes between regular service, which consists of a compulsory period of eight months for all able-bodied men between 20 and 40 years of age who have no valid reason for exemption, and

of four months for all women between 16 and 30 years of age<sup>1</sup>, and temporary service which may not exceed twenty-one days in the year. Under certain conditions and within certain limits, exemption may be secured by the payment of a sum of money.

The number of "regular" labour conscripts has varied from year to year, but is generally round about 20,000. The contingent for 1930-1931, however, was over 30,000 strong. Of the total number, 19,380 workers were employed directly by the Ministry of Public Works. Of the 2,925,600 days' work performed, nearly half (1,261,359) were devoted to the building and repairing of roads and railways, the rest being distributed among State properties, institutions and breeding studs, work-rooms for skilled workers, and forestry undertakings. Some 11,000 workers were also lent to various public or private public utility undertakings which were made responsible for their maintenance. The number of hours' work performed by the latter was 1,252,000. No figures are available as to the number of workers performing temporary labour service or the number of days of work performed by them.

The 1934 programme provided for the enrolment of 25,000 young men, thus ensuring employment for about a quarter of all the registered unemployed workers in Bulgaria. About 15,000 of this number were to be employed on road-building, particularly on building the Bulgarian section of the London-Istanbul motor road.

### *Canada*

Labour camps have been set up by the Department of National Defence in co-operation with the Department of Labour. The camps are not intended only for young persons but for all single homeless men. In practice, however, a great many of their members are young men under 25 years of age.

In the autumn of 1932 over 70,000 single homeless men in Canada were unemployed and with no prospect of employment. As the resources of the Dominion and Provincial Governments and the local authorities were strained in providing work for married and single men with dependants, the Dominion Government decided to make use, for the assistance of single homeless unemployed men, of the organisation of the Department of National Defence, which is able in an emergency to feed, clothe and administer to the general requirements of large numbers of men. By an Order in Council dated 8 October 1932 the Government made provision for the care of 2,000 single homeless men in need of relief to 31 March 1933. In view of the success of this experiment, the scheme was expanded and the last Order in Council of October 1933 provided for the care of 35,000 of these men during the period 1 November 1933 to 31 March 1934.

The supervisory and administrative staff are selected for the most part from married men with dependants who have the necessary qualifications and are in need of relief. Military personnel are in charge of schemes in a few cases only. The camps are open to all homeless single men who are in need of relief, provided they are free from communicable disease and physically fit for ordinary manual labour.

The works selected for execution under the scheme comprise the development of landing fields on the Trans-Canadian Airway, municipal

---

<sup>1</sup> An amendment adopted in 1929 suspended the compulsory labour service for women, its results having proved unsatisfactory.

airports, forestry operations, highway construction, restoration of historic buildings, etc. During the winter when road-building operations are usually impossible, provision is made for simple types of building construction. All the work undertaken anticipates the normal programme of public works, and in consequence its execution does not deprive anyone of work under normal conditions.

No tradesman among the relief workers is forced to work at his trade, and if he prefers unskilled labourer's work he is allowed to do it. He is, however, encouraged to work at his trade with a view to retaining his trade efficiency, while young men who have never had the opportunity to learn a trade are encouraged to work as tradesmen's helpers. Men are encouraged to return to normal employment, and if they secure jobs they are given free transportation to their place of employment. There has been a steady flow from the relief camps back to industry. The men are also given leave to engage in seasonal employment such as harvesting, and are taken back into the camps on their termination, if they so desire.

The men are given free transportation to the labour camps, where they are housed in buildings, hutments or tents. The food supplied is the standard army ration. Each worker receives a free set of clothing (boots and shoes and full equipment for work), and a free issue of smoking tobacco. He is also entitled to 20 cents for each day of actual work. The services of qualified doctors are provided for in all camps and the health of the men is given careful attention.

In addition to manual work, facilities are provided for education and recreation. Provision is made for outdoor sports, indoor games, libraries, gramophones and radio. Instruction in elementary educational subjects is given in the evening for those who desire to attend, and vocational classes are also being organised in certain camps.

At 15 February 1934, 108 schemes were in active operation, while 2 had been completed and 13 were closed down for the winter. At the same date the authorised establishment was 24,697 and the actual strength of the camps 19,725<sup>1</sup>.

### *Czechoslovakia*

The introduction of a voluntary labour service was decided upon by the Council of Ministers in May 1934 following negotiations with the interested parties and in particular with the workers' organisations, which demanded certain guarantees as to the kind of work to be undertaken and the strictly voluntary nature of the scheme.

The first camps were set up experimentally and organised by the Ministry of Social Welfare. The Socialist youth organisations took the initiative in establishing the first camp (at Terezin). Attendance at the camps is voluntary and the men may leave them at any time on giving a week's notice. So far as possible the camps must be self-governing. All questions relating to cultural matters, physical training or general education are settled by chosen representatives of the members of the camps who form an "autonomous council". The general management of the camps and of the work performed outside them, on the other hand, is entrusted to nominees of the Ministry of Social Welfare. The camps are divided into labour teams each under a team leader, who is responsible for the discipline and work of his group.

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Labour Gazette*, March 1934, pp. 228-230

Members of the camps are mainly employed on road and railway building and repairing. In no case may their employment create competition with adult workers. Work may not be undertaken for individuals, and the authorities on whose behalf it is carried out (municipalities, State Departments, etc.) must pay wages at the rates current for workers under ordinary contracts of employment. These sums must be sufficient to cover all the expenses of the labour camps.

The camps accept young men 18 to 24 years of age, providing them with free board and lodging, working clothes and shoes, and pocket-money at the rate of 0.40 crowns for each hour worked. Working hours are six in the day and thirty-five in the week. The workers are insured against sickness and accident.

In addition to manual labour the time-table includes educational courses on general subjects, discussions, and sports and physical exercises.

As an additional measure for providing occupation for the unemployed, the Minister of Social Welfare has decided that in future 15 per cent of the men engaged on all ordinary public works and relief works shall be under 24 years of age.

In addition to the centres organised by the State, a number of towns in Northern Bohemia have set up municipal labour camps for their unemployed. At the end of 1932 the City of Prague had already organised labour brigades employing as many as 10,000 persons. Up to May 1934 these brigades had performed 451,861 days' work. The schemes carried out consisted mainly in the development of parks and sports grounds, canalisation work and the cleaning and classification of books and newspapers.

In May 1934 the Municipal Council of Prague decided to organise labour teams open to single young men from 18 to 24 years of age, and in exceptional cases to those under that age who had completed their apprenticeship. These teams are organised by the physical training clubs, the technical side of their management being in the hands of the municipality. They are divided into groups of twenty to thirty men. At the head of the organisation is a managing and disciplinary board which includes representatives of the physical culture clubs, the municipal authorities, the City of Prague, etc.

The members of the labour teams are boarded for six days in the week and are also provided with working clothes and shoes together with a sum of 35 crowns a week. They are insured against accident and entitled to medical attendance. Hours of work are 40 in the week, seven being worked on the first five days and five on Saturday, and the men are also expected to take part in the cultural and recreational activities, which occupy eight hours in the week.

The Bata works have also set up a work centre for eighty young unemployed persons, who are building a local railway line.

### *Free City of Danzig*

A voluntary labour service was introduced by an Order of the Senate which came into force on 1 April 1932.

By a subsequent Order dated 19 June 1934 this service was converted into a compulsory service.

The Order defines the functions of the compulsory service as follows: to carry out public works of national economic or cultural importance, to turn out young citizens conscious of their duties towards the State, to mould the young into a social unit by enabling them to serve

the State side by side and to help to win for manual labour in every class of the population the respect which it deserves

All citizens between the ages of 17 and 25 are required to enter the labour service. Persons who are not physically or mentally fit are excepted, together with certain other classes of young men and boys defined in the Order (bread-winners, schoolboys, etc.) The period of service is one year. The Senate administers the service and organises the work it undertakes, which must be chosen in such a way as neither to compete with undertakings employing ordinary labour nor to cause the dismissal of regular workers. Men doing their term of service are boarded and lodged and receive working clothes and implements and a daily allowance, and are entitled to medical attendance in case of sickness. Compensation for accidents is also provided for in the Order.

Men who have done their term of service are entitled to a "labour passport."

Lastly, the Order provides for penalties in case of contravention. These apply in particular to persons who refuse to enter the service or who leave it before their year is finished<sup>1</sup>

Recruiting for the labour service opened on 1 November 1934, but as the number of workers to be enrolled was restricted, for the time being, to 1,000, young unemployed persons were invited to volunteer. The actual compulsory recruiting will begin on 1 January 1935.

### *Denmark*

By an Act of 20 May 1933, the Government was granted a credit of 3 million crowns for the purpose of providing voluntary employment for unemployed young persons. This measure, which was at first introduced experimentally, was extended up to 31 March 1935 by the Act of 27 March 1934.

Voluntary work is organised by local authorities, by various private organisations, trade unions and other similar associations. The service is restricted to young men, preferably between 18 and 22 years of age, applications for admission being received by the local employment exchanges.

The employment provided for these young persons includes manual labour, education and physical training. The work in which they engage must be productive, but the centres must not compete with the ordinary labour market, interfere with economic activity in general or exercise an unfavourable influence on existing wage conditions. The Act of 20 May 1933 makes special mention of the following types of work as satisfying these conditions: forestry, agriculture, horticulture, reforestation, the correction of river banks, protection against coast erosion, protection of natural amenities, the improvement of means of communication, the laying out of sports grounds, etc. The organisation of the centres must be kept free from all political bias and must be entirely voluntary.

The volunteers are grouped in teams twenty to fifty strong for a period of two to four months, during which they are boarded and lodged and receive a small cash allowance but no unemployment benefit. The bodies organising the work are entitled to an allowance not exceeding 2 crowns a day for each person employed. Two-thirds of this allowance is payable by the State and one-third by the local authorities in proportion to their contributions to ordinary and emergency unemployment benefit.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Gesetzblatt für die Freie Stadt Danzig*, 25 June 1934

A special committee consisting of representatives of employers and workers and Parliamentary representatives under a chairman nominated by the Minister of Social Welfare considers the schemes submitted by the organisers of the voluntary work and ensures the protection of the ordinary labour market

In spite of the efforts of the Ministry of Social Welfare, this Act does not seem to have been very widely applied. Of the credit of 3 million crowns voted by Parliament, only 200,000 crowns were spent in 1933 and 300,000 in 1934. With these sums, some 30 centres were opened in 1933 and a further 20 in 1934, providing about 250,000 days' employment (100 000 in 1933 and 150,000 in 1934). The work includes the laying out of sports grounds, urban works and road making and repairing. The authorities found it rather difficult to provide work that was productive and at the same time satisfied the above criteria.

The Act of 27 March 1934 provided subsidies for the settlement of farmers and the purchase of the necessary equipment and stock, as well subsidies for the travelling expenses of members of centres and for the purchase of working clothes. The subsidies paid in these respects in 1934 did not exceed 6,500 crowns, with which four settlement schemes were launched.

### *Finland*

The Ministry of Social Welfare and the National Unemployment Council have drafted a scheme for the institution of camps for unemployed young persons. These camps are to be divided into two classes, one for juveniles under 20 years and the other for young unemployed workers between 20 and 25 years. The juveniles will be placed on farms where, besides performing agricultural work, they will be taught one or more trades. They will remain in camp for not more than a year. The work provided for members of the second type of camp will be more in the nature of "reserve works" (relief works), but special attention will be paid to the social assistance and general education of the young persons.

Difficulties having arisen in respect of the choice of suitable farms—the application of the scheme has been postponed until 1935—but it is probable that experimental camps for men between 20 and 25 years of age will be set up before that date.

### *Germany*

Voluntary labour service was introduced by a Legislative Decree of 5 June 1931. In its original form the scheme was closely associated with the Government's employment policy, being intended to safeguard some at least of the young unemployed against the dangerous influences of prolonged idleness and to make use of their strength to carry out useful work. In the course of time, however, and particularly after the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, the function of the labour service underwent a radical change although its statutory basis remained approximately the same. The labour service, as at present organised, and as the compulsory service which its leaders would like to see it become, is expected to fulfil two essential tasks, first, to serve not only as a physical but as an intellectual, moral and civic training ground for the citizens of the new German State, and secondly to play an important part in remoulding the economic system of Germany to conform with

the principles of the new regime. In ceasing to be primarily a weapon to combat unemployment, the German labour service is tending more and more to approximate to the compulsory type of labour service as exemplified in Bulgaria.

The Legislative Decree of 5 June 1931 entrusted the administrative organisation of the voluntary labour service to two kinds of institutions: first, the bodies for whom the work is carried out and which are responsible for its organisation (*Träger der Arbeit*), and secondly, the bodies which recruit the workers, equip the camps, and organise the community life of their members (*Träger des Dienstes*).

The first type of bodies may be public institutions, public utility associations or institutions, organisations set up by groups of volunteer workers, or even commercial undertakings all or part of whose profits are directly devoted to furthering the public interest. In practice, local authorities and Government departments are usually the bodies for which the work is carried out, although in exceptional cases voluntary workers have also been made to perform work for private individuals.

The recruiting and organising bodies were originally youth organisations, religious or charitable associations, workers' and salaried employees' organisations, gymnastic or sports clubs and sometimes the bodies for whom the work was to be performed. All these bodies have since been replaced by organisations of the National Socialist Party, which has assumed sole responsibility for the organisation of the labour service. It has set up for this purpose labour service organisations (*Arbeitsgauvereine*) in each district, which were grouped together in a national federation. This latter body was replaced in June 1934 by the organisation known as the National Socialist Labour Service. The Government retains control of the whole organisation through the intermediary of a Commissariat of the Labour Service, which forms a department of the Ministry of Home Affairs (formerly the Ministry of Labour). The whole of Germany has been divided into twenty-nine districts subdivided into some 300 groups. At the head of each group there is a local headquarters which exercises direct authority over the labour camps.

The administrative connection between the labour service and the employment exchanges, which in harmony with the original conception of the labour service as a weapon against unemployment was at first very close, has since been almost completely severed and is now limited to the payment of the State allowances through the employment exchanges. The volunteers are recruited by special recruiting offices. This complete divorce of the labour service from the employment exchange organisation no doubt holds a latent threat to the latter's unity, which has only recently and with considerable difficulty been achieved in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

Forty-three schools have been set up for the training of camp officers, including one National school for officers of the higher ranks, twelve regional schools for chiefs of sections and divisions, and thirty distinct schools for group leaders.<sup>2</sup>

The financial resources of the labour service are derived from moneys provided in the national budget, and sums placed at the disposal of the labour service by the Institution for Employment Exchanges and

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr R. Max SCHLEDERER "Die Entwicklung des Arbeitsdienstes", in *Arbeit und Beruf*, 1934, No. 1, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II to the present chapter (p. 125).

Unemployment Insurance which must be at least equal in amount to the saving on unemployment benefit resulting from the creation of the labour service

At present the Government grant is at a daily rate of 2 14 RM for each worker. Out of this sum 0 43 RM is handed over to the National Socialist Labour Service, the remainder being paid to the district organisations of the Service to cover the cost of organising the camps, instead of to the bodies undertaking the work, or directly to the workers themselves, as was previously the case. This sum is intended to cover the equipment and general management expenses of the camps, the cost of the board, lodging and clothing of the workers, laundry and health service, and also to provide pay for the workers and pay sickness insurance contributions and continuation fees for invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance, and lastly, the workers' fares to and from the camp.

Actually, the share of the Government grant allocated to these expenses (1 71 RM per head per day) is scarcely sufficient to cover them all. The district organisations therefore try to transfer part of the cost of the camps to the bodies undertaking the work with whom they conclude contracts.

According to data published by the Government Statistical Office<sup>1</sup> the actual annual expenditure of the public authorities on account of each voluntary worker is 600 RM and that of the bodies for whom the work is carried out about 400 RM, representing the cost of materials, etc. Thus the total cost amounts to about 1,000 RM a year for each worker. As the average number of persons employed in the labour service each month in 1933 was 228,779, the cost of maintaining them throughout the year may thus be estimated at some 228,779,000 RM, of which 137,267,000 RM were provided by the State and the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance and 91,512,000 RM by the bodies for whom the work was carried out.

The Decree of 5 June 1931 defines the work which may be undertaken by voluntary workers. Only "extra" work of general utility may be encouraged, that is to say work which would not otherwise have been undertaken even as relief work, and in particular land improvement schemes, land clearance with a view to settlement or the creation of allotments, the improvement of local communications and sanitation.

In defining the term "extra work", the Decree of 16 July 1932 specifies that the work performed by the Labour Service must not reduce the openings for ordinary workers, but must be restricted to work which could not otherwise have been undertaken at present or in the near future. A Circular of the President of the Institute for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance of 9 June 1932 states that the development of family farms, including work in connection with land improvement, and the construction of houses and farm buildings and approach roads shall in all cases be considered as "extra work".

As regards the requirement that the work undertaken must be of public utility, a circular issued by the President of the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance of 21 July 1931 laid down that the expression "public utility" should not be taken too literally and that the fact that a given piece of work is likely to be to the direct advantage of a limited number of people (members of a club

---

<sup>1</sup> *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 2nd issue for March 1933, p. 181



or of a co-operative society, for instance) need not exclude it if it is at the same time beneficial to the community

The economic importance of the work to the nation is taken into consideration only in determining the period for which payment of the grant may be continued and the worker's right to assistance in view of his subsequent settlement on the land

Most of the schemes carried out by the voluntary labour service at the outset consisted of work for the improvement of public health (construction of sports grounds, public baths, parks, etc.) Schemes of this kind occupied nearly one-third of all the volunteers during the first year of the operation of the voluntary labour service. This fact is explained by the simplicity of the plans required for such work and the ease with which they can be financed. But its economic value from the national standpoint is inconsiderable, and hence the Government was gradually led to draw up a more far-reaching scheme in which the first place was given to work of definite economic value, in particular land improvement schemes. This development corresponds to the new conception of the labour service, the primary task of which is to broaden the agricultural basis of the nation by improving the land and providing farmers with large areas which are at present waste<sup>1</sup>. The ultimate aim of this policy is to make Germany independent of foreign countries in respect of agricultural products. Its essentially agrarian purpose is also illustrated by the fact that voluntary workers are sometimes lent to the big landowners of West Prussia for harvesting work, in order to avoid the necessity of recruiting foreign, and in particular Polish, seasonal workers.

In December 1933 about 81 per cent of all the volunteers were employed on schemes which may be classed as productive, i.e. work in connection with land improvement, the improvement of local communications, forestry operations, land clearance for the purposes of settlement and allotments. The schemes are drawn up by local organs of the Directorate of the Labour Service in agreement with the administrative authorities of the various States.

As regards the organisation of the labour camps, since April 1933 only resident camps have been allowed, non-resident camps having been abolished as incompatible with the educational aims of the labour service, which demand the continuous presence of the worker in the camp. The labour service authorities have also prohibited the establishment of camps in towns of over 100,000 inhabitants and within a ten-mile radius of such towns. There are at present three kinds of camps, the first consist of a fixed number of 216 voluntary workers (*Stammlager*), and the second of 70 voluntary workers (*Zustammlager*), while the third serve as provisional accommodation for newly enrolled recruits. About two-thirds of the camps are installed in permanent buildings and one-third in hutments. Wherever compatible with local conditions of employment, the authorities encourage the setting up of big "double" camps holding 432 persons.

Considerable difficulty appears to be encountered in financing the establishment of the camps. As a rule, the labour service authorities refuse to meet all the expenditure involved, which is sometimes fairly high, and in such cases it often has to be borne by the bodies for which the work is carried out.

The change in the conception of the functions of the labour service

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr STELLRECHT *Der Deutsche Arbeitsdienst* Berlin, 1933

has not only affected the administration of the service but has also led to a redefinition of the qualifications required for admission. At the outset the Government made grants only on behalf of persons entitled to unemployment or emergency benefit, although certain other categories of the unemployed might also be admitted to the labour service provided that the authorities bore the resultant cost. The principle was that the voluntary workers continued to draw the benefit to which they were entitled, with the difference that as a rule these sums were paid to them through the bodies for whom the work was carried out instead of by the employment exchanges. Voluntary workers were still considered as unemployed workers, and as such were bound to register periodically with the employment exchanges which might recall them at any time to take up ordinary jobs.

The Legislative Decree of 16 July 1932 and the administrative regulations of 2 August 1932 repealed the provision restricting the labour service to persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. At the present time the service is open to all young men from 18 to 25 years of age inclusive. Priority is given in principle to unemployed workers drawing benefit, but this principle was somewhat shaken by the introduction of a six-month period of service for young people who had obtained their matriculation certificate, which was later made compulsory and led to an influx into the camps of young men who had never been unemployed.

Moreover, the voluntary worker is not now considered as unemployed, and unemployment statistics no longer include persons enrolled in the labour service. The allowance paid for the maintenance of the worker is no longer looked upon as unemployment benefit and he need not register with the employment exchange, which moreover cannot recall him to take up a regular job save in exceptional cases. Service in a labour camp is not taken into account in assessing the right to unemployment or emergency benefit so that a voluntary worker who has served his term may continue to receive the benefit to which he was previously entitled.

The legal status of the voluntary worker in relation to the administration which recruits him is somewhat peculiar. The Decree of 5 June 1931 specified that employment in the labour service did not create an employment relationship in the sense of labour legislation. In practice, a distinction must be drawn between the voluntary worker proper and the administrative and management staff. The latter are bound by a contract of employment or service with the public administration and draw an ordinary salary, whereas the legal status of the voluntary workers themselves is exceptional and is governed by public law. They are insured against sickness and accident, contributions for the former purpose being paid by the bodies organising the camps and those for the latter by the authorities for whom the work is performed. In case of sickness the worker is entitled to benefit in kind alone. The labour service authorities also pay the continuation fee due to the invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance institution.

Each worker receives a cash allowance of 25 pfennigs a day. The maximum term of service, which was originally twenty weeks in a period of two years and forty weeks in the case of work of direct economic value, has now been fixed at fifty-two weeks in a period of two years, but may be prolonged for the organising and administrative staff. Workers must undertake on enrolment to serve for six consecutive months. Those employed on work of direct economic value are entitled

to have a certain sum paid to their savings account, with a view to assisting them to establish themselves on farms of their own. These sums are paid to them at the time of taking up their farms.

The voluntary labour service is intended to give young men the opportunity of performing serious work in common and to promote their physical, intellectual and moral development. The central feature of the occupation provided is manual labour, which is performed for six to seven hours a day and 36 to 42 hours in the week. The average daily hours of work may not exceed seven and a half, including the time needed for the journey from the camp to the place of work and back. The nature of the work undertaken often requires the employment of experts provided by the authorities for whom the work is carried out. The camp leaders appoint group leaders from among the volunteers themselves.

The rest of the day is devoted to physical exercises (sports, route marches, gymnastics, etc.), courses in political and civic education, and games and other recreations. Besides establishing the dignity of manual labour the labour service is also intended to train citizens to be conscious of their duties towards the new National Socialist State. The organisation of spare time in the camps is most important during spells of bad weather and particularly in winter when there is less opportunity for open-air work.

After six months' service, the voluntary worker is entitled to a "labour passport", which the leaders of the labour service consider should be made compulsory for admission to all paid employment and which is already required of all candidates for posts as leaders in the political organisation of the National Socialist Party or in the Labour Front.

To ensure that men leaving the labour service shall find employment in ordinary jobs, the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance has laid down special rules for the employment exchanges. These are examined in detail in the chapter dealing with the placing of young unemployed workers.

*Women's labour service* — As reorganised at the end of 1933 the women's voluntary labour service is somewhat different in conception from the men's.

In contrast to its position in the scheme for men, the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance plays an important part in the women's labour service, being responsible for its financial resources. The internal administration and general management of the service are in the hands of a woman who is directly responsible to the Directorate of the Labour Service and to the National Socialist Party.

Whereas one of the principal tasks of the labour camps for young men is the execution of public works, the aim of the women's labour service is to promote the civic and general education of young women in harmony with the National Socialist conception of woman's function in society. It is intended to train young women to fulfil their functions as housewives and mothers, and to promote the National Socialist policy of deflecting women's labour from industrial and commercial employment to the home and the land.

Under a circular issued to the employment exchanges by the President of the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance on 27 January 1934, the voluntary labour service is open to

young women of Aryan descent of 17 to 25 years, or preferably 19 to 22 years of age, who have lost or given up their paid employment in consequence of the reorganisation of the female labour market, or who have been unable to find jobs as workers or apprentices within two years of leaving school. Girls who have matriculated from school and university students are also admitted, but may not form more than 20 per cent of the total membership of each centre. The young women must undertake to serve a term of at least thirty weeks. The Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance grants subsidies for their employment in centres approved by the chairmen of the district employment exchanges, as a rule, the subsidy is granted for twenty-six weeks, with a possible extension to fifty-two weeks in special cases.

The centres for unemployed young women are of three types. In the first place there are centres for domestic work and social assistance, set up near towns and intended in particular to initiate town-dwelling young women into all kinds of domestic work, gardening and small-scale stock raising. Young women at these centres are also employed on social work provided by the public assistance authorities, such as mending clothes for the indigent, working in soup-kitchens, giving assistance to mothers and families and to the unemployed men in small suburban settlements, etc. Each of these centres contains some fifty young women.

The second type consists of rural centres which train young women for country life and agricultural work. These consist of groups of some thirty young women who are placed in a farm which they run themselves under competent supervision, so far as possible producing all the food necessary for their own maintenance. The girls may also be lent for not more than six hours a day to neighbouring farms to gain experience of the life and work of peasant families, with a view to enabling them to find jobs later as "agricultural assistants" or in ordinary agricultural work.

Lastly, there are also settlement aid centres consisting of ten to twenty young women and set up in regions where land settlement schemes are in progress. In addition to work performed in the centre itself, the young women co-operate in the work of settlement by assisting the settlers in all kinds of domestic and agricultural tasks.

*Labour service for young people after matriculation* — Although the present labour service is open to all classes of young persons, whether unemployed or not, workers, salaried employees, students, etc., the Government has nevertheless considered it expedient to introduce a special service for boys who have matriculated from school and intend to follow a course of higher education or to obtain a job at once (*Werkhalbjahr für Abiturienten*). The purpose of this scheme is to delay for six months the admission of students into higher educational institutions, which are hopelessly overcrowded, and also to obtain the support of university youth for the principle of labour service. In accordance with a decision of the German Students' Federation and with the approval of the Ministry of the Interior and the Directorate of the Labour Service, this service has now become compulsory. As from the summer term of 1934, no boy who passed his matriculation at Easter 1934 will be accepted in a higher educational institution before serving his term in the labour service.

The term of service comprises four months' work in a camp and six weeks in a physical training centre organised by the National-Socialist

**Storm Troops sections** The boys are enrolled in the ordinary labour camps and perform the same kind of work as other voluntary workers. As regards physical training, instructions issued by the Minister of the Interior and the Commissioner for the Voluntary Labour Service on 28 January 1933 specified that its purpose was to fit the boys for national defence.

The boys are enlisted by the recruiting offices of the labour service or by special bodies set up by the students themselves.

The students' term of labour service is a first experiment in the introduction of compulsory labour service in Germany. In 1933, about 10,500 of these boys were enrolled as voluntary workers, some of them having subsequently abandoned their intention of continuing their studies. The Minister of the Interior sees in this new trend of German youth a valuable result of the labour service.<sup>1</sup>

A compulsory term of labour service similar to that described above has been introduced in Württemberg for intending university teachers.

Below are given some statistics of the German labour service for 1933. The total number of days' work performed during the year was 68,800,000 as compared with 33,200,000 in 1932. The average number of voluntary workers throughout the year was 228,000 as against 260,406 during the last quarter of 1932. Of these an average of 186,000 (81 per cent) were employed on works of direct public utility, most of them in the agricultural districts of East and South Germany. The proportion of voluntary workers to unemployed workers rose from 2.9 per cent in 1932 to 6 per cent in January 1934, a change which is explained by the reduction in the number of the unemployed registered with the employment exchanges.

The following table shows the position at 31 January 1934.

Number of schemes undertaken	2,947
Number of voluntary workers employed on different schemes	
Total	226,306
Land improvement	108,042
Forestry	25,083
Land clearing for settlements or allotments	19,158
Public health	1,580
Winter relief and miscellaneous	72,443
Number of voluntary workers	
Per 100 unemployed workers	6.0
Per 100 unemployed workers in receipt of benefit	7.3
Number of days' work performed (January 1934)	6,219,600

The total number of voluntary workers employed in labour camps has fallen somewhat since 1932, when it reached a maximum of nearly 280,000 persons. This is attributable to the closing down of a number of non-resident camps. The inflow of workers into the labour service is still considerable, however. Its future development appears to depend primarily on the financial resources available. During 1934, financial difficulties led the Government to reduce still further the number employed in the labour service, the average for the year will not exceed 200,000.

The women's labour service is still in its inception. At the end of August 1934, 11,314 young women were employed in the various centres, a number which corresponds to about 5 per cent of the voluntary workers in the men's centres at the same date.

<sup>1</sup> *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 1934, No. 2, I, p. 8.

A problem which at present is in abeyance is that of the introduction of a compulsory labour service to replace or supplement the present scheme. The foregoing account has shown that this scheme, although based on the principle of voluntary enlistment, already contains elements of indirect compulsion as in the case of the service for students and for intending university teachers and for future leaders in the political organisation of the National Socialist Party and in the Labour Front, while there are also other devices, such as the introduction of labour passports and the workers' obligation to enlist for a continuous period of six months, which may be taken as paving the way for the introduction of a legally compulsory service. According to the responsible authorities, the change is to be introduced gradually so that the statutory introduction of compulsory service will merely give legal recognition to an accomplished fact.

This change, which was originally to have taken effect on 1 January 1934, has been postponed for two years for political and financial reasons, and also because of the difficulty of organising the schemes necessary to provide suitable work for the 600,000 young men who would form a single class of labour recruits.

If the German system is transformed into a compulsory service it will cease to be a remedy intended specially for the unemployment of young persons and become an instrument of economic development and a school for the political and social education of the whole of German youth.

### *Great Britain*

The centres organised for the unemployed are almost entirely intended for the training and instruction of the men and women who attend them. The training may, in certain cases, take the form of work at current rates of wages for local authorities, and the instruction may take the form of forest clearing, road making, drainage, timbering, excavating and levelling. Moreover, a number of voluntary schemes are in operation for occupying the unemployed during their enforced leisure, and under some of these schemes unemployed men have been engaged in increasing public amenities and in cultivating allotments.

All these activities have been described in the preceding chapter.

### *Netherlands*

Productive occupation for unemployed young persons has not yet been organised on any considerable scale. A beginning has, however, been made by the National Juvenile Unemployment Board, an organisation recognised and financially supported by the Government, which has organised camps also subsidised by the National Emergency Committee. The young men in the camps are employed on building roads, holiday homes, gardening work, etc. To assist unemployed girls, particularly in Brabant where a great many girls have lost their employment in the textile industries, the youth organisations for girls have tried to introduce new industries such as glove and lace making. There are also work centres for unemployed girls, who are employed on household work, laundering, embroidering, mending, etc.

During the first half of 1933 the National Emergency Committee made available to the youth organisations a sum of about 25,000 florins, these organisations having themselves contributed an equal amount,

thus enabling 5,000 unemployed workers to spend at least a week in a labour camp

The introduction of a voluntary labour service on a national scale is not considered expedient at present

### *New Zealand*<sup>1</sup>

The Unemployment Board established under the Unemployment Act, 1930, is mainly concerned with adults over 20 years of age, but in view of the serious unemployment among young persons below that age in recent years it has taken steps to assist a certain number of these young persons. Thus, during the year ending 30 September 1933, over 2,000 youths of 18 to 20 years of age were assisted by the Board with subsidised farm employment. The Board is also assisting an afforestation camp at Wanganui on which fifty boys are employed.

Although no statistics as to the ages of adult men engaged on various relief schemes in operation are available, it is probable that a good many of these men are between the ages of 20 and 25. Of the relief schemes in question the most important is what is known as Scheme No. 5 which provides partial employment with the co-operation of local authorities for a large number of unemployed men, mainly in the chief centres of population. Men are also assisted to obtain employment on farms, in building operations, gold prospecting, etc., by means of subsidies paid by the Board.

Since September 1931 a considerable number of men (mainly single men) have been placed in camps in rural districts. These camps are established in co-operation with the Public Works Department, and the men are engaged for the most part in the construction and repair of roads and highways, land improvement and afforestation. The establishment costs of the camps are met by the Government department or local body concerned and utensils, food and the cost of transport to the camps are provided free of charge. The Unemployment Board pays the men according to a contract scale at an average rate of 10s per week. Out of this the men have to pay for their own bedding, clothes, etc.

Special attention is given in these camps to afforestation, which is considered particularly suitable because the planting season is in mid-winter at a time when other outdoor work tends to fall off. Over 30,000 acres of trees were planted in the twelve months ending 30 September 1933 with relief labour.

At the end of September 1933, of a total number of 75,134 men who were wholly or partly a charge on the Unemployment Fund, 48,743 were engaged under Scheme No. 5, 10,110 on farms, 6,360 on building operations, 3,853 in camps, 3,908 in gold mining and prospecting, and the remainder on miscellaneous schemes.

### *Norway*

As a result of official discussions dating from the beginning of 1933, a private organisation has been formed to provide occupation for unemployed young persons in labour camps. The committee of this organisation includes the Director of Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. The organisation is supported by voluntary contributions which have so far amounted to 300,000 crowns. The

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Jan. 1934 "Unemployment Relief Measures in New Zealand", by E. J. RICHES

State undertakes to repay one-third of the wages paid to voluntary workers up to a maximum rate of 1 50 crowns per working day and per head, this amount being the customary State contribution to municipal relief works

The organisation has set up three labour camps which have provided work for 528 persons between 18 and 24 years of age. The work has consisted mainly of road building and land clearing for settlement, and facilities have also been provided for vocational training

### *Poland*

The first voluntary labour service was introduced as early as 1932 in the province of Silesia, and since that date the organisation (known as "the Voluntary Labour Brigades") has been steadily developing. In 1933 the Ministry of Social Welfare decided to extend the scheme to other parts of Poland and set up for the purpose an Association for the Assistance of Unemployed Young Persons subsidised by the Ministry and by the Employment Fund, which is now the central body for the organisation of the labour brigades throughout the whole country, with the exception of Silesia, which has kept its independent system.

The volunteers are organised in groups (25 persons), brigades (100 to 200 persons) and battalions (400 to 800 persons). They are enrolled by the local unemployment committees or through various youth organisations and distributed to employment centres outside the towns. Each centre contains 100 to 400 workers housed in accommodation provided free of charge by the military or municipal authorities or specially built by the Association for the Assistance of Unemployed Young Persons. If the site of the works is too far distant from permanent accommodation, movable hutments or tents are set up in the neighbourhood, or the workers are housed on barges.

The higher staff of the labour camps comprises a director, a civic instructor, a physical training instructor, a bursar, a doctor or nurse and as many technical instructors as may be required. The subordinate staff is recruited from among the voluntary workers and consists of group leaders (one per 24 workers) and brigade leaders (one per 100 workers).

If these unemployed young persons are given employment in workshops or in the country, steps are taken to ensure that the product of their labour is kept within the centres and does not compete on the open market. In the centres for girls, for example, underclothing and working clothes are made for the use of the girls themselves. In Upper Silesia the labour brigades service rented a farm of about 200 hectares<sup>1</sup> which is worked collectively by 25 young men. The produce of the farm is to be used for feeding workers in the labour camps. Similarly, 57 unemployed persons run a machine-bakery in Wielkie Hajduki (Upper Silesia) where 15,000 kilogrammes of bread are produced daily and used by the labour camps and the relief committees for the unemployed.

The rules of the Association state that the objects of the voluntary labour service are to provide young unemployed men before and after their military service with work under conditions designed to prepare them for their subsequent occupation, to give them a better civic education, and to inspire them with a love of work in the interests of the community. Manual labour is the chief item in the programme of

---

<sup>1</sup> About 495 acres



occupation, consisting in the execution of public works such as railway and road-building, river correction, land improvement, the construction of sports grounds, airports, etc., and also employment in workshops. The work to be performed is selected so as not to compete with the employment of adult workers, but no specific definition of such work is laid down and there is no mention of the formula of "extra" work which has been adopted in a number of other countries. During bad weather the men are employed in workshops, in making various articles, repairing tools, shoes and clothes, and also in doing any necessary repairs to their housing accommodation. They are also provided with work suitable for the winter by institutions for social work. Output reaches normal level after a few weeks in the camp. Girls are occupied on agricultural and household work, sewing, knitting, bookbinding, library work (preparation of a circulating library service, book-sorting), etc.

Membership of the employment centres is voluntary. In Silesia, however, young unemployed men certified by a searching medical examination as fit for work who refuse to enter a camp may have their unemployment allowance from the local authorities suspended, but this indirect method of compulsion is of little practical value since the young men concerned are rarely entitled to unemployment relief because most of them have never yet had jobs. Members of the camps may leave at any time on informing the authorities. Their admission is subject to a medical examination and a probationary period of ten days. During the first few weeks the men may return home at the camp's expense, but subsequently they must pay their own travelling expenses.

At present the labour service is open to young men between the ages of 17 and 22 who have not done their period of military service. For girls the minimum age is fixed at 15 years (residential camps) and 18 years (non-residential). The only limit to the length of service is the upper age limit for admission. The Government intends to set up a second type of camp for those young men who have just completed their period of military service and cannot find employment. The vocational training and the experience of collective work gained in the camps should, it is thought, enable them to form themselves into co-operative labour groups to engage in land settlement, public works or handicrafts.

These voluntary workers are provided with accommodation, food and clothing, they receive a cash allowance of 50 groszy a day (group leaders 1 zloty and brigade leaders 1 50 zloty), and 5 zloty a month are paid into a savings account on their behalf. In Silesia, a sum equal to 10 per cent of their wages is paid into a savings account which is handed over to the workers when they leave the camp, provided that they are going to take up a job or have some valid reason for leaving. Voluntary workers are insured against accidents and are entitled to medical attendance. They work six hours a day.

The bodies for whom the work is performed receive from the Employment Fund, which finances about 60 per cent of the camps, loans out of which they can pay the camp directors 2 5 zloty per working day in respect of each worker. A subsidy to cover the maintenance costs of the voluntary workers on days when their normal work is impossible because of the weather or other circumstances is paid by the Ministry of Social Welfare to the Association for the Assistance of Unemployed Young Persons. No cash allowances are paid to the workers on those days. In Silesia, the bodies for whom the work is performed pay from 2 5 to 3 zloty (2 8 on an average) per worker per working day. The cost of maintaining a worker is 2 65 zloty a day, or 2 95 in Silesia, is thus slightly higher in both cases than the wages paid to the camp

directors, but it will probably fall later. It may be added, for purposes of comparison, that the Employment Fund contribution in respect of each adult worker engaged on public works is 3 zloty a day on the average.

The bodies for whom the work is performed are responsible for providing the necessary tools and the technical and supervisory staff.

Apart from manual work, the daily time-table includes sports, physical exercises, lectures and games. Each camp has a meeting hall, a library, and a sports ground. The men often publish their own newspapers and the Association for the Assistance of Unemployed Young Persons issues a fortnightly review, a similar review for voluntary workers appears in Silesia. Several centres have organised choirs, orchestras, dramatic clubs, etc. The Association makes grants towards the establishment of co-operative societies in the camps, and allows credits up to 100 zloty to finance the setting up of shops for the camp members.

The camps were originally managed by retired officers, but special courses for the training of instructors have now been organised by the Association and about 50 group and brigade leaders were trained at the beginning of 1934.<sup>1</sup>

In 1934 there were about 60 employment centres (including 2 courses for instructors and 6 centres for girls) containing some 9,000 workers. The Ministry of Social Welfare and the Employment Fund have each allotted a sum of 6 million zloty to finance the labour service, making a total of 12 million zloty in all.

### *Saaz Territory*

A voluntary labour service was introduced under an Order of 16 June 1933 by a Decree issued by the Governing Commission on 8 November 1933 under the name of "Voluntary Labour for Young Persons" (*Freiwillige Jugendarbeit*).

The bodies responsible for organising the service are the communes and federations of communes, which must see that the young workers concerned are employed on serious work. This is defined as including extra work of public utility which would not otherwise be carried out even in the form of relief work. As examples of such work the Decree suggests land improvement operations, clearing and preparing land for cultivation and gardening, the upkeep and repair of local roads, public health work, clearing work in the event of disasters such as fire, flood, etc., and making and repairing garments for the indigent in common workrooms. The camps are open to all unemployed men between 18 and 25 years who are in receipt of unemployment relief. They continue to receive their ordinary unemployment benefit plus a supplement of 25 per cent during their term of service, which is normally twenty weeks but may be prolonged in the case of work of national economic importance.

Engagement as a voluntary worker does not imply a contract of employment as defined by labour legislation. The workers may be recalled at any time by the employment exchange to take up an ordinary job. They are insured against sickness, and the statutory provisions regulating the payment of a continuation fee to maintain rights in invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance apply to them in the same way as to other persons in receipt of unemployment relief. They are also covered by the legislation governing hours of work, Sunday rest, accident protection and protection for women and young

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II of this chapter (p. 127)

persons in dangerous occupations under the same conditions as ordinary work

### *Sweden*

The voluntary labour service is organised on the basis of a Circular issued by decision of the Riksdag to the local unemployment committees by the National Unemployment Board in July 1933. Work centres have been set up both by the National Board and by the local committees, the latter often entrusting their organisation to a special committee including representatives of the Unemployment Board, the local education authorities, the youth organisations, etc.

The object of the voluntary labour service is to provide unemployed young persons with an occupation which will increase their ability and willingness to work and prepare them for subsequent employment. Manual work in the centres must therefore be supplemented by instruction in general educational subjects and vocational training, and also by physical exercises. Only four hours in the day are occupied by manual work, two hours being devoted to general education or vocational training, and one or two hours to gymnastics and sport. So far as possible the work must be done outside towns and in the open air. It must be work of public utility, that is to say, undertaken by the State or a local authority or on behalf of a group of persons, and lastly it must be work which would not otherwise be carried out either immediately or in the near future.

As regards the educational programme, this must as far as possible take the form of technical instruction bearing on the work carried out by the volunteers, e.g. practical courses in carpentry, elementary metal work, courses in tailoring and shoemaking, etc. These courses are often held in bad weather when work on public schemes has to be interrupted.

Participation in the labour service is voluntary, priority being granted to young men between 18 and 21 years of age entitled to unemployment relief. In exceptional cases, persons of 16 and 17 years and between 22 and 25 years of age are also admitted, and unemployed men who are not entitled to relief may also be accepted provided that the funds necessary for their maintenance are forthcoming from private organisations or individuals.

Most of the centres are resident, but there are also a few non-resident centres. Workers in the resident centres receive their board and lodging and an allowance of 0.50 crown for each day's work and free transportation from their homes to the centre and back. Those in non-resident centres who are entitled to unemployment benefit continue to draw all or part of it. All members of centres are issued with working clothes.

Voluntary workers are subject to the same provisions as all other persons drawing unemployment benefit. They are bound to accept any suitable work offered them by the employment exchanges and the camp leaders must communicate with the exchanges at least once a week with a view to endeavouring to place their voluntary workers in ordinary jobs.

No centre may contain more than fifty persons. Their internal administration must be as far as possible autonomous. The camp leader is responsible for the educational arrangements, and, provided he has the necessary qualifications, for organising the manual work also. The leaders are selected from among the heads of youth organisations, unemployed teachers, members of the forestry service and agricultural employees.

The State grants local authorities subsidies to meet the cost of salaries paid to camp leaders and instructors, pocket-money for the workers, and transportation expenses and the cost of working clothes. The body undertaking the work bears the cost of all tools and, where necessary, the wages of foremen and other qualified persons to direct the works. All other expenditure is borne by the local authorities. Voluntary donations are accepted for the support of unemployed workers not entitled to relief.

Up to 15 March 1934 the local committees had set up twelve local work centres containing 482 workers and the National Board 11 centres containing 817 workers.

In 1934 Parliament appointed a committee of experts to consider the problem of unemployment among young persons as a whole and to put forward any appropriate suggestions. Acting on the report of this committee the Government submitted to Parliament on 28 April 1934 a Bill providing, *inter alia*, for the employment of 5,000 unemployed young persons in work centres and of some 2,000 persons on special reserve works organised for young workers. These special measures are designed mainly for young men of 18 to 21 years of age, since those of 16 and 17 are more likely to be able to find ordinary jobs and those of 22 to 25 years can be employed on ordinary reserve works. The Bill was adopted by Parliament in June 1934.

### *Switzerland*

There are two kinds of labour service. The older form is that of a labour service for students, who form camps during their vacations and perform work of public utility, such as land improvement work in poor mountain communes, the construction of roads, correction of mountain streams, works to provide protection against avalanches, etc., or help to reconstruct villages damaged by avalanche, fire or flood. As these camps are not specifically intended for the unemployed, but are attended by all students desirous of spending their vacations in performing useful work in the open, no description of their operation is called for here. Suffice it to say that the steady development of the movement and the services it has rendered to the community have undoubtedly served as an example for the institution of a voluntary labour service for the unemployed.

The latter owes its development to a Federal Order of 13 April 1933 authorising the Federal Council to grant subsidies up to two-fifths of their total expenses to labour camps and other similar organisations with a view to providing regular employment for unemployed persons under 22 years of age.

The Swiss labour service is not organised on a uniform basis, but the various institutions which had set up work centres united in March 1933 to form the Swiss Central Organisation for Voluntary Labour Service.

The young workers are employed on various public utility works in the open air, such as forest-clearing operations, road making and repairing, the laying out of sports grounds, the construction of mountain huts, water conduits, etc. They receive board and lodging and are paid one franc in cash for every working day. They are insured against sickness and accidents, and the transport undertakings allow them tickets at half-fare for proceeding to and from the workplace.

In 1934, work of this kind was organised by some twenty institutions and groups (youth offices, employment exchanges, religious, occupational,

political or scientific organisations, public utility institutions, special unemployment services, etc.) The Confederation paid subsidies only in respect of work of proved economic value and public utility, provided also that it was extra work which would not have been undertaken but for the labour service. In winter most of the camps are closed, but in some places workshops were set up for wood and metal work, care being taken not to compete with private undertakings.

In June 1934 the Confederation was paying subsidies to 68 work centres employing about 1,400 young unemployed persons for periods of from two to four months. Up to the end of August 1934 the subsidies paid by the Confederation amounted to 258,269 francs. After deducting the cost of the actual work, the maintenance costs for each voluntary worker amounted to 4.75 francs a day on the average (5.05 per working day and 6.32 per day actually worked).

The authorities and institutions concerned have very carefully studied the problem of extending the labour service and more especially the question of making it compulsory. On 26 June 1934 a Conference of experts was called to consider this matter in the light of a number of reports. A report from the Military Department advocated the introduction of a compulsory labour service for all male unemployed persons, this service would be centralised and controlled by some Federal body. Two other plans (the Pfister Plan and the Radical Youth Plan) also suggested the organisation by the Confederation of a central labour service which would be more or less compulsory for certain groups of young unemployed persons. The Central Organisation for the Labour Service and the cantons were opposed to the compulsory system, and the Conference accepted this point of view by a large majority. At the same time it pointed out that the question might arise again if the other measures for providing employment for unemployed workers proved inadequate and if the voluntary labour service did not develop as it was expected to do. The experts further pointed out that facilities should be granted to the unemployed who worked in those centres to find suitable employment, as far as possible they should be given priority by the employment exchanges. Finally, the Conference urged that the idea of labour camps should be more widely adopted and that they should be encouraged on their present basis.

In the light of this opinion the Federal Council concluded that it would be difficult to introduce a compulsory labour service at present and that it could not adopt the suggestions made in various quarters for extending the activity of the Confederation in dealing with unemployment. Its reasons for rejecting the proposal for a compulsory labour service were summed up as follows: a labour service would deal only with a limited number of the unemployed, who would necessarily be young persons, and even among those young persons careful selection would be necessary. Generally speaking, it seemed preferable to find occupation for them in agriculture or to give them systematic training for some occupation. Moreover, public opinion seemed on the whole to be opposed to the idea of a compulsory labour service. People found it difficult to understand why a compulsory labour service was demanded for one group of persons, namely the unemployed, and not for all citizens. The Government also considered that the system would mean a restriction of individual liberty which might not be compatible with the Constitution. Finally, there was the serious question of financing such a scheme. According to the estimate of the Military Department the cost of a compulsory labour service for 10,000 unemployed persons over a period of six years would be 145 million francs.

For all these reasons the Federal Council decided not to change the existing system. It submitted to the Chambers in October 1934 a Draft Federal Order raising the upper age limit for admission to the labour service from 22 to 24 years and increasing the Federal subsidies. The Draft Order further provides that the cantons and the local authorities should pay subsidies to the labour service amounting to not less than the Federal subsidy. The employment exchanges would be obliged to do all they could to assist those who attended the labour camps to find ordinary employment wherever possible.<sup>1</sup>

A particularly interesting experiment as regards the provision of productive occupation for the unemployed is the scheme for a technical labour service introduced in certain towns in German Switzerland. This service is not intended for young unemployed workers only, but for all unemployed technicians. For reasons already explained in the introductory part of this chapter, the employment of highly skilled workers, whether manual or non-manual, on heavy labourers' work is sometimes liable to impair their occupational skill. Hence the technical labour service aims at providing temporary occupation in their own or a similar occupation for unemployed technical workers, or for those who have never had jobs since completing their training.

The first scheme for a technical labour service was introduced in Zurich in 1932. It is under the direction of a supervisory committee including representatives of the Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour, the cantonal employment offices of Zurich, Aarau and Basle Town, the municipal employment offices of Zurich and Winterthur and various trade associations of technical workers. An employment bureau is in charge of the technical work, and the funds of the service are provided by the Confederation, the cantons and the municipality of Zurich.

The work is chosen in such a way as not to compete with that of ordinary workers. During its first two years of existence, the technical labour service undertakes to make plans of objects of ethnographical interest, to collect the necessary material for a survey of artistic monuments, and to carry out topographical work to assist the study of the history of art.

Owing to the large number of unemployed mechanical engineers, the labour service organised a special scheme for this group consisting of the preparation of tables and graphs for the purposes of technical training and for elementary schools. Lastly, the service also organised enquiries into the state of buildings intended to supplement experiments in building methods.

In 1932, sixteen technical workers selected from seventy-eight applicants were occupied in this way, while during subsequent years the number rose at times to 50 or 60 persons. The technical labour service is in administrative contact with the Swiss organisation for placing technical workers and is thus able to help persons who have proved their worth as voluntary workers to find employment in ordinary jobs.<sup>2</sup>

### *United States*

The development of schemes to provide productive occupation for unemployed young persons dates from the advent of the Roosevelt

<sup>1</sup> Communication of the Federal Council of 9 October 1934 (*Feuille federale*, 17 Oct 1934, No 42)

<sup>2</sup> *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 25 May 1934

administration The Unemployment Relief Act adopted by Congress on 31 March 1933 and which will remain in force until 31 March 1935, furnished the statutory basis for the organisation of labour camps for unemployed workers Although the Act does not specify that its provisions are intended specifically for young persons, in practice all the men enrolled are single unemployed men, 18 to 25 years of age, from needy homes <sup>1</sup>

By Executive Order of 5 April 1933, the President appointed a Director of Emergency Conservation Work, assisted by an Advisory Council consisting of representatives of the Secretaries of War, the Interior, Agriculture and Labour An initial sum of \$10 million was made available to the Director, whose decisions involving expenditure are subject to Presidential approval The capital expenditure necessary to equip the camps and put the work into execution was estimated at \$25 million, and current running expenses at about \$15 million a month <sup>2</sup>

The men are enrolled by the employment offices of the Department of Labour, but the War Department is responsible for outfitting the men, transporting them, conditioning them, supervising the construction and administration of the camps, providing medical care, organising sports, etc The Army also provides the officers who act as camp commanders The work itself is run by officials of the forestry service Here again, therefore, as in a number of other countries, the administration of the camps and the management of the work is kept entirely separate It is important to note that although the Army plays an extensive part in the scheme, the whole enterprise is not in the least military in character Enrolment is entirely voluntary and the men are free to leave the camps at any time if they can themselves find jobs in industry Several thousand do, in fact, leave the camps every month to take up ordinary jobs

In contrast to the varied scope of the work performed by the voluntary labour service in most other countries, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of the United States is employed only on duties expressly specified by the Unemployment Relief Act of 31 March 1933 and consisting in "the construction, maintenance and carrying on of works of a public nature in connection with the afforestation of lands belonging to the United States or to the several States which are suitable for timber production, the prevention of forest fires, floods and soil erosion, plant pest and disease control, the construction, maintenance or repair of paths, trails and fire lanes in the national parks and national forests, and such other work on the public domain, national and State, and Government reservations incidental thereto, or necessary in connection with, any projects of the character enumerated, as the President may determine to be desirable" Subject to certain reservations, the President may also extend the provisions of the Act to lands owned by counties and municipalities and lands in private ownership

The men are taken on for six-monthly periods, at the end of which they may sign on again, but in order that the scheme may benefit the widest possible circle of unemployed the maximum period of service of each worker is limited to twelve or fifteen months The men are clothed, fed and housed under canvas and receive wages at the rate of \$30 a month,

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf H DUBREUIL "Forest Camps for Unemployed Young Men in the United States," in *International Labour Review*, Vol XXIX, No 2, Feb 1934, pp 199-205

<sup>2</sup> Cf P E THOMPSON and L E MARSHALL *Help for the Jobless*, p 11 National Crisis Series, 1934



of which \$25 are sent to their homes and \$5 paid to them directly. Workers in supervisory positions receive \$30 to \$45 a month. All members of the camps are covered by the legislation providing compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries in the performance of their duties.

Each camp is planned so as to be self-contained, having in it men who can do all the various jobs needed by a community of this sort (cooks, barbers, etc.)

Besides young men 18 to 25 years old, who form the main body of its members, the C C C also contains 25,000 older men with special knowledge of forestry work who are engaged in order that the campers may have the necessary technical direction. Each camp has about fifteen of these skilled woodmen. Their engagement appears to be also partly due to the wish to meet the criticism that the C C C takes work from regular forestry workers.

Special camps have been set up for afforestation work in the Indian reservations, where Indians are employed, and also in Porto Rico, Alaska and Hawaii. Lastly, ex-servicemen have also been given a place in the C C C on condition that they shall have their own organisation.

The administration of the camps also provides suitable recreational activities for the men during their spare time. Each camp has a stationary and circulating library and a dining room which acts as a recreation room for the evenings and bad weather, and contains a wireless set. A special weekly paper for the camps is issued in Washington under the title *Happy Days*, it contains information and stories about life in the camps.

At the beginning of 1934, 1,540 camps were in operation, of which 1,468 had been organised by the C C C and 75 by the Indians. The average strength of the C C C during the first three months of 1934 was about 300,000, a maximum of 344,373 having been reached in November 1933.

In addition to the above, it may be recalled that a great deal of relief in the United States is given in the form of "work relief", and that in the winter of 1933-1934 a large-scale programme of civil works was put in hand for the purpose of giving occupation to the unemployed. Many of those who benefited by these measures were undoubtedly young men and women.

## Conclusions

The introduction of labour service or employment centres for young unemployed workers gives rise to a great many more or less difficult problems.

In the first place, precautions are needed to ensure that such institutions shall not take on a military aspect or restrict the ordinary jobs available for young persons or adults by providing employment at wages under current rates.

As regards the military aspect, reference has already been made to the proposals put forward by the Committee on Effectives of the Disarmament Conference. As regards the question of competition with ordinary labour, steps have been taken in various



countries to ensure that the labour service shall undertake only such schemes as could not be carried out in the ordinary way under present economic conditions

The objects of labour service organisations must be not only productive but educational, the latter aspect covering at once the general, physical and vocational training of the young persons concerned. In view of these varied aims, great importance attaches to the training of leaders for the camps or labour services.

The camps may be residential or non-residential, the workers in the latter type returning home every evening. The organisation of the camps and the organisation of the works carried out by the young workers are sometimes entrusted to different bodies who collaborate with each other. Camps may be organised either by the public authorities or by private organisations receiving public subsidies. The works may be commissioned or organised by local authorities or other public bodies, which meet the cost of equipping the camps, provide the necessary tools, or in some cases pay the labour service a lump sum corresponding to the value of the work done.

Age limits are usually fixed for the admission of young workers to the labour service, the lower limit being intended to ensure physical fitness for the work of the camps and the upper one to safeguard its educational character. A number of countries have introduced special measures for a labour service for unemployed young women. Consideration has also been given to the possibility of developing certain kinds of work providing scope for the special qualifications of young skilled or professional workers.

As a rule no wages in the strict sense of the term are paid in the labour service. The workers receive full board, lodging, working clothes in some cases, and small cash payments. The application to members of the labour service of labour legislation and, in particular, social insurance raises certain special problems.

Another point is that of the period of service, which is generally subject to a specified maximum and may be terminated before its normal expiry.

In principle, the labour service is voluntary. Nevertheless, setting aside the compulsory labour service which some countries have introduced for all young persons, whether unemployed or not, certain national laws make the joining of the labour service a condition for the right to unemployment benefit or allowances, which are then placed on the same footing as the payments made by the labour service to its members.

# APPENDIX I

## Standard Time-Tables for Employment Centres in Different Countries

### *Bulgaria*

The following is the time-table of a Bulgarian labour camp

5 a m	Reveille and dressing
6 a m	Gymnastics, roll call
6 30 a m	Breakfast, departure for work
7-11 a m	Work, with a ten-minute break every 50 minutes.
11 a m - 3 p m	Midday meal and rest
3-7 p m	Work, followed by cleaning of tools
7 30 p m	Supper
9 p m	Evening roll call
10 p m	Lights out

Thus in the Bulgarian labour service working hours are eight in the day excluding the time spent in going to and from the camp. On Saturday work is from 7 to 11 a m, the afternoon being spent in route marches, after which the workers are dismissed until Monday morning.

Educational measures appear to play practically no part in the time-table of the Bulgarian Labour Service. The workers are given a booklet containing some elementary information, mainly concerning the rôle of the Labour Service and the duties of the workers. The Directorate of the Labour Service publishes a fortnightly review which is intended, among other things, to combat illiteracy among the labour recruits, and the camp leaders occasionally organise classes, but manual work appears to take up practically all the time available <sup>1</sup>.

### *Germany*

Below is given the normal daily time-table of a labour camp

The men get up very early, usually at dawn

10 to 30 minutes	Physical exercises (gymnastics, running)
30 minutes	Dressing and tidying dormitories
20 minutes	Breakfast
6½ hours	Labour service including two breaks of 15 and one of 30 minutes
20 to 30 minutes	Cleaning clothes and boots, etc
30 minutes	Lunch
1 to 2 hours	Rest
1½ hours	Talks and discussion, games or group activities
30 to 40 minutes	Supper, announcements by camp leader, etc
1½ to 2 hours	Evening spent in collective activities or free time

At the end of the work period the men have lunch and afterwards are free to clean their clothes and shoes, rest, read, write or play games. The favourite games are ping-pong and chess in winter and outdoor ball games in summer.

<sup>1</sup> H RAUPACH *Der Arbeitsdienst in Bulgarien*, pp 49 et seq 1932

In addition, facilities are provided for physical exercises, gymnastics, football and other ball games, drill, route marches and field exercises

The talks and discussions revolve on cultural, economic or political problems and are usually conducted by students and professional workers, but sometimes also by craftsmen and manual workers. Group activities consist of lessons in shorthand and typewriting, drawing, musical productions, etc

The evenings are devoted to recreation. Dramatic and musical performances, lectures, discussions, games and other amusements are organised, and the inhabitants of neighbouring villages are often invited to attend them

On Sunday morning the men attend church service or spend the time in common in some serious occupation. The afternoon is devoted to excursions, meetings with members of other camps, competitive sports, etc <sup>1</sup>

### *Poland*

The standard time-table of a Polish labour camp is as follows

5 a m	Reveille
5-6 30 a m	Toilet, prayers, physical exercises (15 minutes), breakfast, roll-call, etc
6 30-6 45 a m	Departure to work
7-10 a m	Work
10-10 30 a m	Rest
10 30 a m -1 30 p m	Work
1 30 p m	Return to camp
2-4 p m	Toilet, cleaning clothes, lunch, free time
4-6 p m	Lessons and courses
6 p m	Roll-call
6-7 p m	Free time
7 p m	Supper
9 p m	Evening roll-call
10 p m	Lights out

There are no courses on Saturday afternoon. On Sunday the young workers go to church, while the afternoon is devoted to excursions, sports, etc

The young workers are generally forbidden to leave camp, even in their free time, without a permit from the director. They spend their spare time reading, playing or resting <sup>2</sup>

## APPENDIX II

### Courses for Camp Leaders and Instructors

#### *Austria*

The Ministry of Social Administration and the Ministry of Education have jointly published official instructions for the recruiting and training of leaders for the labour service. The men selected must be

<sup>1</sup> K EPTING *Arbeitslager und Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst*, p 19

<sup>2</sup> Communication to the I L O. The time-table is that of the Sandomierz camp

healthy, intelligent, of good moral character and possess a certain gift for leadership. They must have spent at least twelve weeks as voluntary workers in a labour camp or have acquired the necessary experience elsewhere. Candidates must undertake to remain at the disposal of the labour service for not less than one year.

Persons selected under the above conditions receive training as leaders for eight weeks or more in resident labour camps. There is practical and theoretical training. The amount of manual work required must not exceed four hours a day, except during the first week, when it will be nine hours a day so as to test the physical endurance of the candidates. The theoretical training includes preparation for the duties of leadership (aims and ideals of the voluntary labour service, administrative and technical problems, equipment and management of a labour camp, etc.), physical training (general course of physical culture and instruction in certain sports), problems of management (treatment of young persons, importance of good accommodation, food, etc.); development of the team spirit, development of the character of young workers, general education, special problems of present-day Austria (including the Austrian Corporative State—its Christian, German and social aspects and its fundamental principles, the training of youth in this spirit), community life in camps. The curriculum must provide for at least 120 hours of theoretical training. Examinations are held at the end of the course.<sup>1</sup>

### *Germany*

The need for a trained staff of labour camp leaders has led the Government to set up a series of training schools for leaders. These schools are at present forty-three in number, one for training officers of the higher grades, twelve for leaders of sections and divisions, and thirty for group leaders.

The schools accept candidates who have already served in the Labour Service. Their general organisation is very similar to that of the labour camps themselves, few theoretical classes are held, the lessons serve as an introduction to the subjects taught, and are followed by practical work. The work is more or less the same as that done by members of labour camps but occupies less of the men's time, a larger share being devoted to instruction.

The latter covers the following subjects: methods of establishing and administering a camp, laws and regulations governing the Labour Service, industrial health, methods of teaching and problems of technical education. Athletic exercises are also an important item in the teaching programme.

Candidates are accepted between the ages of 20 and 50 years. The ordinary course lasts six weeks and is followed by an examination, successful candidates receiving a certificate entitling them to act as leaders of a small camp (up to 30 persons), an average camp (30 to 60 persons), or a large camp (60 persons or more).

In addition to these ordinary classes, discussion courses lasting ten to fourteen days are also organised with the principal object of enabling camp leaders to compare their experience.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ing G. A. WITT and Dr. FR. KELLER *Führungsschulung und Freizeitnutzung im Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst, einschliesslich der offiziellen Richtlinien* Issued by the Ministry of Education, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> K. EPTING, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 et seq.

## *Poland*

In Poland, the training given to group and brigade leaders is primarily of a practical character. The rules provide that candidates for admission to the courses must be between 20 and 30 years of age, 20 per cent being between 25 and 30 and 80 per cent between 20 and 25. Candidates over 30 are accepted only in exceptional cases.

All candidates must at least have completed their elementary education, while 50 per cent must also have attended a secondary or vocational school, and candidates for the post of director of a labour centre must have undergone a course of higher education.

Men attending the training courses receive the same payment as voluntary workers in the centres. On passing the examination they proceed to the labour centres as group leaders or brigade leaders. The programme of the course, which lasts two months, is given below.

The candidate is placed on probation for two weeks, during which he performs the same work as an ordinary voluntary worker; this serves to eliminate unsuitable candidates. He then enters on a six weeks' course during which he is employed on manual work for four hours a day and attends lectures and classes for another four hours. While doing their work the men receive detailed information concerning the organisation of technical work, the productivity of labour, tools and technical instruments and their use, the duties of leaders and the execution of the work assigned to voluntary workers.

The subjects dealt with during the four hours reserved for lectures and theoretical classes include education in civics. This forms the subject of three series of talks each occupying two hours weekly, the first dealing with the social, economic and cultural situation of Poland, the second with the essential factors in the progress of civilisation and culture, and ways and means of mutual assistance, and the third with the future duties of the leaders at the voluntary labour centres.

The course as a whole comprises (i) questions of industrial health and safety, sanitary questions, etc., (ii) the organisation of the labour centre, the duties and qualities of group leaders, (iii) technical instruction (calculation of surfaces and dimensions, building materials, road building, land levelling, drainage, etc.), (iv) educational and instructional work (libraries, reading, camp newspapers, artistic activities, etc.) (v) physical training<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Regulations for Courses of Instruction. Conditions for Acceptance and Continued Training of Candidates.* Published by the Association for the Assistance of Unemployed Young Persons.

---

## CHAPTER V

### PLACING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSSIBILITIES OF NORMAL EMPLOYMENT

---

The first question to be discussed in the present chapter is the organisation of placing and vocational guidance services for young workers. In effect, only the rational organisation of placing can ensure that the chances of employment open to young persons are used to the fullest extent. Moreover, well-balanced placing services contribute largely towards the avoidance of "blind-alley" occupations offering little or no future to the young.

A certain amount of consideration must also be given in this chapter to factors of a general character which influence employment possibilities open to the young, and to measures taken or contemplated with a view to providing them with fresh openings in life.

#### § 1 — The Placing of Young Persons

The placing of young persons, and more especially of those under eighteen years of age, gives rise to certain problems which require the provision of special arrangements. This need, however, is not felt to the same extent for young persons over that age<sup>1</sup>, who can be placed in the same way as workers in general, greater stress being laid on specialisation by industries and occupations than on classification by age groups.

So far as juveniles under 18 are concerned, posts may be undesirable either from an industrial or from a moral point of view. One of the principal evils of juvenile employment is what is called "blind-alley" employment—that is to say, work such as that of errand-boys, lift-boys, newsvendors, etc., which requires no previous

---

<sup>1</sup> For information on the question of placing in general, see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, 1933 *Employment Exchanges, Studies and Reports*, Series C, No 18, Geneva.

training and leads nowhere Boys and girls in such posts are usually discharged at the age of 16 or thereabouts on the ground that they are then too old for such work Juveniles discharged from blind-alley jobs at 16 or 17 have the greatest difficulty in obtaining further employment because they are quite unskilled and are therefore competitors in a generally over-filled section of the labour market, and employers who are willing to train young workers usually prefer to take them when they leave school

In the placing of girls, the moral aspect is of particular importance If the work found is in the district in which the parents live, they may be able to exercise a certain amount of control, but if the work is in another district such control is almost impossible, and a special responsibility is therefore placed on the employment exchange

The most important problem is that of the connection between placing and vocational guidance Just as the work of the vocational guidance officers will remain incomplete if they neglect to find employment for those whom they examine, so there can be no adequate system for the placing of juveniles without previous vocational guidance For these reasons the placing and vocational guidance of young persons tend more and more to be united in a single organisation, either by attaching special vocational guidance services to the exchanges dealing with young workers or by co-ordinating the exchanges and the vocational guidance offices which exist outside

A few examples are given below of the methods of co-ordinating vocational guidance and the placing of young persons in a certain number of countries It is not claimed that they give a complete picture of the steps taken hitherto to ensure such co-ordination, they are intended merely to show that, although the methods advocated or adopted may differ widely, these two forms of social assistance to young persons are gradually being brought into closer harmony with each other

In *Australia*, where vocational guidance is of very recent growth, the vocational guidance offices do more than merely give advice In New South Wales, for example, the Sydney Guidance Office, attached to the Department of Public Instruction, has an Economic Adjustment Committee, dealing with all questions concerning the placing of young persons These two activities are closely linked together In South Australia also the vocational guidance offices work hand in hand with the employment exchanges

In *France* the work of vocational guidance has been closely linked up with that of placing by the Decree of 26 September 1922, which

makes provision for the establishment of vocational guidance offices to assist the public employment exchanges in their work and to enable them to find suitable employment for juveniles

These offices are administered by local occupational committees, or, failing them, by permanent sub-committees of the Departmental technical education committees

All the public vocational guidance offices and the private offices subsidised by the State are supervised by the inspectors of technical education in accordance with the Act of 25 July 1919

Statutory provisions concerning vocational guidance have existed in *Germany* for some considerable time. The Employment Exchanges Act of 22 July 1922 made it compulsory for the employment exchanges to include among their activities vocational guidance and the placing of apprentices whenever the Federal Office for Employment Exchanges or the authorities of the different States or communes asked them to do so. According to the same Act, institutions other than the employment exchanges which engaged in the work of vocational guidance and placing were brought under the supervision of the Federal Office for Employment Exchanges, which could have them closed down if they did not conform to the general principles laid down by that Office.

The Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Act of 16 July 1927 established an organic connection between vocational guidance and placing. According to section 58, the aim of the employment exchanges is to fill vacancies as far as possible with suitable labour. For this purpose the special conditions of the vacancies on the one hand and the industrial and physical qualifications, personal and family circumstances, and period of unemployment of the applicant on the other hand, must be taken into account as far as the state of the labour market admits. With regard to vocational guidance, account must be taken of the physical and intellectual qualifications, the inclinations and the economic and family circumstances of the applicant, and also of the state of the labour market and the prospects in various trades. Vocational guidance must subordinate the interests of special trades to general economic and social considerations. The Act prohibits the carrying on of vocational guidance for gain, and requires the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance to supervise agencies for vocational guidance which are not carried on for gain and are not connected with the employment exchanges. The only exception is in the case of legally recognised industrial associations which merely give information or advice concerning a given occupation. As a matter of fact, vocational guidance is at present almost entirely in the hands of the employment exchanges, which work in close co-operation with the schools and the social welfare offices.

There are certain other institutions dealing with vocational guidance from a scientific standpoint, but in so far as their work extends to practical placing they collaborate closely with the employment exchanges. Although special vocational guidance services do not exist in all the employment exchanges, their number is sufficient for them to be within the reach of all concerned. When young persons are to be placed as apprentices, the vocational guidance officer himself deals with the matter, but always in close touch with the placing officer. The importance of the work performed by the vocational guidance service and the public employment exchanges in this direction is shown by the fact that in 1929-1930 some 49 per cent of all the vacancies for apprentices were filled by these organisations.



A special system has been introduced for young persons who have completed a period of labour service. A circular issued by the President of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance on 24 January 1934 calls attention to the establishment of an organisation called the "Arbeitsdank", which is run in close connection with the National Socialist Party. The aim of this institution is to facilitate the placing of young persons, the actual work of placing being done exclusively through the employment exchanges. The circular lays down a detailed procedure regarding the technical side of the work of the exchanges in this field. During the actual period of service, the exchange in question prepares the forms and other documents required for the future placing of persons in employment. At least eight weeks before the worker leaves the camp where he performs his labour service, the placing officers must take steps to find employment for him. The circular makes provision for a big scheme of vocational guidance which includes the placing of young persons as agricultural "assistants". Under the scheme, the placing officers are also empowered to fill vacancies caused by the departure of young workers for voluntary labour service, and vacancies in relief work which cannot be filled by unemployed persons with family responsibilities.

The fact of having completed a period of labour service is accepted as proof of an unemployed person's skill and personal qualifications. If it is necessary to place a young person in employment in a district other than that in which he has hitherto resided or worked, care is taken to avoid sending them to large towns or other industrial centres.

In *Great Britain*, the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, in its final report issued in November 1932<sup>1</sup>, points out that "the employment and unemployment of juveniles present problems of a different nature from those of adults, and to consider these problems special organisations have been established for the purpose of giving advice to boys and girls on the choice of suitable employment, placing them in such employment, and so far as possible guiding and supervising them during the early years of their industrial life". Under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment were set up in connection with the various exchanges, consisting of representatives of the local education authority, teachers, employers and workpeople, and other persons having special knowledge of, or interest in, matters affecting juvenile employment and welfare. Under the Education Act of 1921 however option is given to the local education authority in any area to exercise "choice of employment" powers as regards boys and girls. In such cases the duties are administered through a Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee of the Education Committee. The executive work is carried out by the juvenile department of the employment exchange and the juvenile employment bureau of the education authority respectively. Central control has been unified since September 1927 in the hands of the Minister of Labour under the Ministry of Labour (Transfer of Powers) Order, 1927. There is in every area of importance in Great Britain an official organisation concerned in the placing of juveniles, and the duties undertaken in all of them by the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment of both types are practically the same. They fall into three main groups (a) advisory work on choice of career, (b) placing, (c) industrial supervision.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cmd 4185

(a) *Advisory work on choice of career* — Talks are given to children in their last term at school on local opportunities for employment, the import of the transition from school to industrial life and similar subjects. School-leaving cards are furnished by head teachers to the committee, giving particulars of the educational standard attained, the desires of child and parent as regards employment, the fitness of the child therefor, and comments on any natural handicaps which might restrict the range of choice or of any special measure of supervision required during the early days of employment. These personal reports are of great assistance to the committees in giving advice to the juveniles, whether this is done in individual interviews at the school or by advisory rotas of the Juvenile Employment Committee on the exchange or bureau premises. Registration at the exchange or bureau is normally maintained at not less than weekly intervals. The minimum age at which a juvenile becomes insurable has hitherto been 16 years, that at which benefit may be drawn was 16 years and thirty weeks. Up to the latter date registration was voluntary, but thereafter it became compulsory if benefit was claimed. Under the Unemployment Act, 1934, the minimum age at which a juvenile becomes insurable is the same as the minimum school-leaving age (which is 14 at present).

(b) *Placing* — The juvenile officer of the exchange or bureau visits employers in order to obtain their close and sympathetic co-operation and to ensure that as wide a choice of employment as local industries afford may be offered to the juveniles. Special care is given to the selection of juveniles with the twofold object of satisfying the requirements of the employer and of ensuring that boys and girls are placed as far as possible in accordance with the committee's advice.

(c) *Industrial supervision* — After the boy or girl has been placed in employment, provision is made for his or her industrial supervision. The object of this is to test the value of the advice given and to ensure during the difficult period of transition from school to industrial employment that the child settles down as rapidly as possible in his chosen occupation. Some weeks after the first job has been secured, children are invited to "open evenings" at the exchange or bureau and asked to give a report on their progress or difficulties. These conferences are of a very informal character. Visits are also paid by the juvenile officer to employers to ascertain what progress a boy or girl is making. Finally, a system of home visiting is applied in some places, especially in cases of lapsed registration, or when personal or home circumstances are difficult.

A great many young persons have however escaped this supervision to a large extent, and the task of the employment officers has been made difficult by the fact that they frequently had no information about juveniles discharged from employment. The Unemployment Act, 1934, contains a clause enabling the Minister, by regulations, to require employers to notify him when any person between the school-leaving age and 18 leaves their employment.

Two National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment (one for England and Wales and another for Scotland) were set up in 1928 to examine and discuss matters relating to juvenile employment and to advise the Minister thereon. These Councils consist of representatives of education authorities, employers, workers, teachers, and of Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment. In addition, the Ministry of Labour issues an annual report on the work of the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment.

The number of vacancies for juveniles filled by the exchanges and bureaux has shown a steady increase, and reached 377,313 in 1933. The proportion of all vacancies filled through official agencies is believed to be about 40 per cent, a much higher percentage than in the case of adults.

In *Japan* the competent authorities have for a number of years been studying the special problems arising out of the recruiting of juvenile labour. A number of different solutions have been proposed or tried for co-ordinating guidance and the placing of adolescents.

In *Norway* the Municipal Council of Oslo in 1931 adopted a proposal of its Administrative Committee to set up a special section in the public employment exchange to deal with the vocational guidance and placing of young persons. The work has been entrusted to two trained officials.

In *Poland* the unsatisfactory distribution of juvenile labour led the Government a few years ago to consider the possibility of introducing some form of vocational guidance as a preliminary to the recruiting and placing of young workers. About 1921-1922 the overcrowding of the labour market by unskilled workers, accompanied by a fall in the number of apprentices in various trade guilds, induced the central employment service to prepare a Bill for the establishment of vocational guidance committees attached to the employment exchanges. According to this Bill, the committee would consist of three employers' delegates (one for industry, one for agriculture, and one for commerce), two delegates of the trade unions, and one delegate from the trade guilds. The duties of the committee would be to co-ordinate the work of all vocational guidance institutions, to collect the necessary information for vocational selection and guidance, to engage in propaganda for vocational training in accordance with the economic requirements of the country, and to establish a programme of work for the public employment exchanges in the field of vocational guidance. This proposal does not appear to have been adopted. At the same time the numerous vocational guidance institutions in Poland are already collaborating with the appropriate bodies to ensure that suitable work will be found for young persons.

In 1920 a section for juveniles was attached to the public employment exchange of Warsaw to organise the vocational guidance and placing of workers between 15 and 18 years of age. The labour exchange frequented by juveniles in search of employment was placed under the supervision of a court of honour consisting of five juveniles chosen by the young persons reporting at the exchange. This court supervises the organisation of placing, and settles disputes arising between unemployed juveniles. The director of the exchange organises courses for unemployed persons on occupational subjects, the duties of young workers, etc. The section maintains close contact with the Juvenile Court, which sends it young persons suitable for employment. Between 1926 and 1933 the section had thus to deal with 751 of these young people, of whom 468 had been condemned under the First Offenders' Act. Regular employment was found for all these juveniles. From the time it was established up to the end of 1933 the section registered 39,160 juveniles, including 29,899 boys and 9,261 girls. Of the total number of juveniles registered, 35,035 were placed in employment.

Since 21 December 1928, *Spain* has had regulations concerning vocational training in all its aspects, including vocational guidance. The

Act contains no special provisions concerning the interdependence of guidance offices and employment exchanges, but prescribes that there should be collaboration between them. One section deals with changes of employment resulting from industrial reorganisation and the necessity for re-apprenticeship. For this purpose the vocational schools must get into touch with the institutions for occupational rehabilitation, as well as with institutions for vocational guidance and selection and for unemployment questions. The two central vocational guidance offices (in Madrid and Barcelona) must obtain from the Ministry of Labour all the necessary data concerning the state of the labour market and any useful information which may be available from the labour inspectors. These official offices, while entirely autonomous in their work, are constantly in close collaboration with the employment exchanges for the placing of young persons.

More recently Spain has taken a further step towards effecting collaboration between vocational guidance and the placing of juveniles by the adoption of a new method of placing workers. The Act of 27 November 1931 provided that all fee-charging employment agencies should be abolished within one year and that free public exchanges should be set up under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour. The duties of these public exchanges include dealing with apprenticeship and vocational selection and guidance. Consequently vocational guidance is now closely linked up with the regulation of the labour market, and becomes of real economic importance.

In 1931 the Minister of Education in *Sweden* appointed five experts to help the Ministry in an enquiry into the following points: how to provide facilities for sound vocational training for young persons and how to improve the methods of placing of young persons, more especially in areas where the employment exchanges are not yet highly organised. As far as is known this investigation is still proceeding.

In *Switzerland* the relationship between vocational guidance and placing varies considerably according to the nature of the employment exchanges in the different cantons. Generally speaking, guidance and placing are everywhere considered as being inseparable. There is therefore constant collaboration between the vocational guidance offices and the exchanges whenever the guidance officer himself cannot undertake the placing of young persons. In some cantons the public employment exchanges supply the vocational guidance offices with information and statistics concerning vacancies for young persons. The system of co-ordination between those two activities is practically always determined by agreement between the various bodies concerned, and close collaboration has been effected as a result of the efforts made by the Swiss Association for Vocational Guidance and the Protection of Apprentices. The members of this Association include not only all the vocational guidance officers, but also representatives of employers and workers, the authorities, the official bodies dealing with apprenticeship, chambers of trades, etc.

In the *United States of America*, a Federal Department is responsible for co-ordinating vocational guidance and the placing of young persons. After the war, the Junior Placement Division of the United States Employment Service was instituted as a national vocational guidance service, and was entrusted with the task of supervising the dismissal of young persons from war-time industries and guiding them to other occupations or trades. In this work the Junior Division co-operates

with the education authorities. The employment exchanges organised by the municipal authorities also deal with vocational guidance and receive grants from the Federal Government for this purpose. In the State of New York, for example, there are seventeen employment exchanges for young workers between the ages of fourteen and twenty years. In 1931 these exchanges registered more than 14 000 applications.

The measures discussed above bear witness to a real effort to organise placing facilities for young workers. It must be recognised, however, that in most countries the steps taken do not cover the majority of young workers. Many classes of young persons still continue to look for work without any recourse to the public employment exchanges, choice of a trade and engagement in an occupation are therefore matters of chance in many cases or are decided by some tradition which does not take account of changes in economic circumstances. The result is that the number of young persons entering blind-alley occupations remains high and disorganisation in the labour market continues. This state of affairs explains the reiterated demands made for action by the public authorities in connection with the placing of young persons, which will prevent the wastage of young labour through unemployment or exploitation by employers, who do not always think enough about the young persons' future careers.

Some countries have introduced placing systems which make recourse to the public placing service more or less compulsory for the recruiting of workers, or require the notification of all vacant jobs. These systems may cover all wage earners or apply more particularly to young persons.

In *Germany* all undertakings controlled by the Government must recruit their staff through the public employment exchanges. Moreover, the authorities may, in certain cases, make it compulsory for employers to notify the employment exchanges of posts which fall vacant, but it would appear that so far no use has been made of these powers. In *Great Britain* the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance in its Final Report (1932) recommends that the Minister of Labour be given power to prescribe by Order the classes of vacancies in the national and local government services, which must be notified to employment exchanges and filled by selection from persons submitted by the exchanges. In *Italy* the obligation to obtain workers through the employment exchanges covers all classes of undertakings (industrial, agricultural and commercial) belonging to private individuals or to the public authorities. In *Poland* Orders issued by the Ministry of Social Assistance require all undertakings liable to unemployment insurance (with the exception of those belonging to the State and communes) to notify the public employment exchanges of all posts which fall vacant or have been newly filled. The Ministry has devoted a certain amount of study to the question of compulsory application to the employment exchanges in the recruiting of young persons for work, and the introduction of

measures to that effect was recently recommended<sup>1</sup> It may also be noted that the Bill concerning unemployment exchanges at present in course of preparation in *Czechoslovakia* contains provisions which would make it compulsory for employers to notify the exchanges of any vacancies and not to engage workers until three days have elapsed, during which the employment exchanges could send applicants to the employers

A thorough study of the juvenile labour market in Lancashire and Cumberland made by Messrs Jewkes and Winterbottom<sup>2</sup> shows that in many districts, even although there exists a very high juvenile unemployment rate in the cotton industry, a large proportion of the children leaving school continue to enter that industry In certain Northern weaving areas, although 23 per cent of the boys and 19 per cent of the girls between 16 and 18 years of age in the cotton industry were unemployed, 12 per cent of the boys and 35 per cent of the girls leaving school who were available for work entered the industry This state of affairs is due not only to the fact that the cotton industry is the only large-scale industry in the district and that employment in this particular branch of the industry has become a habit bred by tradition, but it is fostered also by the special system of engagement, which in most cases is carried on by direct negotiation between the employers and workers and thus avoids any recourse to the public vocational guidance and placing authorities

The above-mentioned authors are persuaded that the only way to remedy this state of affairs, which also exists in other districts and in other industries, is to introduce measures requiring the employers to apply to the public employment exchanges when recruiting young workers, and making it compulsory for them to notify to the exchanges all jobs falling vacant for this class of worker Although the suggestions for the introduction of such measures for the workers in general have been rejected by the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Messrs Jewkes and Winterbottom consider that the reasons advanced by the Commission in justification of its decision do not hold as regards young workers In the first place, the percentage of juveniles below 18 years, placed in employment through the exchanges, is much higher than for adults As already stated, about 40 per cent. of all juveniles placed in employment in Great Britain are found jobs through the exchanges, while for all other classes of workers the proportion is only about 20 per cent The public placing

---

<sup>1</sup> J MIEDZINSKA "State Policy towards Young Workers," in *Praca i Opieka Społeczna*, April-June 1933

<sup>2</sup> *Juvenile Unemployment* London, 1933

agencies have therefore acquired sufficient experience to enable them to undertake the entire organisation of the placing of young persons. Further, the placing of this class of worker is, in some respects, a simpler process than that of adults, especially if the latter are skilled in their trade. The young person beginning his industrial life is not specialised and all he requires is sound vocational guidance, which will lead him to take the type of work for which he is best suited naturally, and direction which will enable him to avoid blind-alley jobs and help him to change his occupation if he finds he has made an initial mistake. Reference has already been made to guidance of this sort, which takes the form of discussions with children and parents before the child leaves school and of close industrial supervision once a post has been found. It should, moreover, be remembered that although adult workers enjoy the benefits of auxiliary placing services, such as those organised by the trade unions, no such agencies operate in the interests of young workers to anything like the same extent.

While in no way underestimating the administrative difficulties which the application of this plan would entail, Messrs Jewkes and Winterbottom consider that it is perfectly feasible. In their opinion, however, it might be found necessary to omit certain trades, and especially agriculture, from the scheme. This solution would eliminate at one stroke all the difficulties which arise from an incomplete knowledge of the extent of unemployment and the impossibility of bringing all unemployed juveniles to Junior Instruction Centres and Classes. Real meaning and purpose would thus be given to vocational guidance schemes which, as it is, often remain of little practical value. Finally, this plan would tend to reduce the wholesale exploitation of children employed in blind-alley occupations such as errand boys, lift boys, newspaper boys, etc., who are dismissed at 16 years of age to make way for fresh batches of younger children.

Measures have already been taken in Great Britain to regulate the recruiting of labour in another important industry, namely coal mining. It was found that, in spite of heavy unemployment in the industry, a large number of workers were being recruited from outside the industry, either because they happened to be on the spot, whereas unemployed coal miners would have had to be brought from a distance, or for some other similar reason. In virtue of the Mining Industry Act, 1926, the Mining Association gave the Ministry of Labour a formal undertaking dated 20 July 1927 that recruitment to any of a number of specified occupations would

be restricted to (a) persons under 18 years of age, (b) disabled ex-service men in receipt of disability pensions, (c) mining students, and (d) persons whose last regular employment prior to 30 April 1926 was in one of the specified occupations. It will be seen that this undertaking places no restriction on the recruitment of juveniles under 18. On the contrary, it may even have increased the number of juveniles engaged. On the other hand, the object of the undertaking is to restrict employment in the coal mining industry as far as possible to persons who were already coal miners before the undertaking was given. It must therefore have been of considerable importance in preventing the unemployment of many young workers under 25 who have been unable to find employment in the district in which they previously worked but who under this arrangement have been transferred elsewhere.

Exceptions are allowed under the arrangement in certain specified conditions, but in fact from 1 August 1927 to 30 April 1931 such exceptional engagements numbered only about 15 per month, and about one-quarter of the total took place in the first five months. The undertaking given by the Mining Association has achieved its object and remains in force until further notice.

An interesting suggestion concerning the placing of young workers was made by the Inter-Parliamentary Conference (Istanbul, September 1934) in the resolutions already frequently referred to. The Conference expressed the opinion that official employment exchanges should have a special department for young people which should keep in constant touch with the schools and educational authorities. In large centres it would be desirable that this special department should dispose of one or several workshops in which the capacities of the young people could be tested. This department would also be entrusted with the duty of following up young persons for whom work has been found, since a certain measure of supervision would serve to strengthen the bonds between young persons and the department and thus to give the former lasting support.

## § 2 — Adjustment and Development of the Possibilities of Normal Employment

Whatever their value, measures for the general and vocational education of young unemployed persons and their temporary occupation in labour centres are, after all, mere palliatives and



when all is said and done reincorporation in normal employment is the only lasting solution of the problem of unemployment whether among young persons or adults. This solution, however, is possible only when business is on the upward trend and the volume of employment is increasing. In times of economic depression, when work is more difficult to find, the adjustment of the available possibilities of employment between the various age groups becomes a most pertinent question. Now, the actual amount of work available for each of these age groups is influenced by a number of factors of an economic, technical, social or political nature. At certain times these factors may produce vast upheavals in the social structure by giving the eternal rivalry between "young" and "old" the character of a fight for the right to work.

It seems evident that at the present time the world is actually passing through some such period of social reconstruction. Although no thorough study of this phenomenon can be undertaken in the present study, it seems advisable to call attention to some of its more important aspects.

In the first place, technical progress and measures for the rationalisation of industrial activities must have a considerable influence on the possibilities of employment open to young and adult workers. It is extremely difficult to decide whether the influence of these factors on the employment of young persons is positive or negative. Certain facts noted elsewhere by the Office<sup>1</sup> would seem to indicate that the reduction of employment possibilities in certain cases due to mechanisation and other measures of rationalisation affects skilled workers, manual and non-manual alike, to a greater extent than it does the unskilled. From this it might be argued that these factors are of more consequence to adult workers than to the younger generation, since the vast majority of skilled workers are to be found among adults. It has indeed been proved in certain branches of industry and in certain countries where technical progress and rationalisation have taken place on a large scale that the percentage of young workers increases steadily in comparison with the total number of workers in employment. A striking example is provided by conditions in the *U S S R*, where the percentage of workers under 30 years of age has shown a marked tendency to increase ever since the beginning of the industrial development of that

---

<sup>1</sup> See INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE *The Social Aspects of Rationalisation*, Chapter IV "The Effects of Rationalisation on Employment" Geneva, 1931

country From 1927 to 1931, the number of workers between 15 and 19 years increased in proportion to the total number of employed from 14.2 to 20.3 per cent and that of workers between 20 and 29 years of age from 37.1 to 40.7 per cent. The ranks of the employed have thus been considerably rejuvenated during the last four years. In *Japan* the number of jobs offered to young persons by the public employment exchanges has increased continuously during recent years in comparison with the number of vacancies for adults. Expressed as a percentage the proportion was 19.5 per cent in 1930, 21.3 per cent in 1931 and 28.7 per cent in 1932. During 1932 the number of vacancies offered to young persons was 349,925, while demands for work received from such persons totalled only 270,976.

Although in some circumstances the general economic evaluation and perhaps also a tendency born of the depression to engage cheap labour have contributed to some extent to increasing the number of openings for young persons, yet a number of other factors have the contrary effect. Under the influence of the depression several countries have adopted schemes which for social reasons of obvious importance favour the engagement of adult workers with family responsibilities. Various measures have been taken to prevent or limit dismissals of married workers or to ensure preferential treatment for such workers when new workers are engaged.

In *Germany* labour adjustment schemes (*Umschichtungs Aktion*) have attained considerable proportions. As was pointed out above<sup>1</sup>, there was a certain decline in the ratio of young unemployed persons from 18 to 24 years to the total number of unemployment persons during the period from 16 June 1933 to 16 June 1934. At the same time there was an increase in the proportion of persons between 25 and 59 years out of employment. During that year, then, there was a change in the distribution of employment and unemployment over different age groups that ran counter to the policy of the German Government, which was to encourage the employment of adult workers with family responsibilities. Consequently, in June 1934, the German authorities appealed to all employers in commerce and industry to replace the younger workers employed in their undertakings so far as possible by unemployed men who were older or had family responsibilities. The adjustment was to be carried out in collaboration with employment exchanges and should only take place if occupation can be found for the younger workers in the Voluntary Labour Service, the Agriculture Aid scheme or (in the case of girls) domestic service, and the competent employment exchange is in a position to supply older or married workers fulfilling the required conditions. The workers

---

<sup>1</sup> Chapter I, p. 10

discharged should be mainly unskilled workers for there should be no question of depriving industry of the fresh supplies of skilled workers which it requires. This plan did not apply to apprentices and unskilled or half-skilled workers under 19 years of age. An exception was also made for young workers who were responsible for the maintenance of near relatives.

Before this official appeal was issued steps in the same direction had been taken in a number of trades and districts. For instance, the Berlin-Brandenburg section of the German Typographical Workers' Federation appealed to workers under 26 in the printing trades to give up their posts in favour of older or married colleagues and to join the Labour Service. On 24 May a conference of officials of the Mainz employment exchanges and the principal employers in that district passed a resolution calling on the younger workers to leave their employment and join the Labour Service or the Agriculture Aid. Towards the end of the same month the official responsible for the employment campaign in the Chemnitz district issued a similar appeal to the younger workers of all trades.

The National Committee of the Corporation of Butchers, Bakers and Pastrycooks has also issued an appeal, in which young butchers' and bakers' assistants are asked to give up their posts temporarily to unemployed men with family responsibilities or war records, the Committee has also taken steps to ensure that lads join the Labour Service on completing their apprenticeship in order that older men may have the vacant posts.

Still more forcible local action has been taken to induce young employed persons to leave their employment. An appeal issued by the head of the Labour Service for Franconia states that young persons under 26 who do not give up their posts to older unemployed men and themselves join the Labour Service are failing in their duty to the community, the directors of employment exchanges and public assistance offices are instructed to refuse further assistance to all young men who have not yet served in a labour camp or cannot prove that they have at least attempted to join one. The Senate of the City of Hamburg has issued an Order requiring all workers and salaried employees of the city administration and public services under 26 years of age to join the Labour Service for a year, during this period they will be replaced by unemployed men with children. The Senate hopes that private undertakings will follow its lead. An Order issued for the district of Hanover-Brunswick provides for the gradual replacement of all the younger workers by unemployed married men. All workers, salaried employees and officials under 26 must produce certificates showing that they have passed through the Labour Service or at least reported for such service. Failure to produce such a certificate is considered a legal ground for dismissal. In the City of Brunswick it has been decided that only persons who have passed a full year in the Labour Service may be engaged by the municipality as workers, salaried employees or officials, and that workers, salaried employees and officials under 26 who have not passed a year in the Labour Service will lose their posts. In Potsdam all local government employees under 26 are required to pass six months in the Labour Service on pain of dismissal. Lastly, an Order issued by the Fehrbellin local authority requires a "labour passport" (a certificate that the holder has been through a labour camp) not only of every public employee, but also of all persons desiring to obtain any employment in industry or commerce.

These measures led to numerous difficulties and to a feeling of insecurity

among both employers and employed persons, and for these reasons the Minister of National Economy issued an Order on 10 August 1934 providing that the President of the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance should have sole competence to regulate the distribution of employment. Accordingly, on 28 August 1934, the President issued an Order, the chief provisions of which are summarised below.

The Order applies to undertakings employing workers or salaried employees, shipping, domestic service and (except when the Order provides otherwise) agriculture are, however, not covered. Every employer is required to examine the make-up of his staff with the object of ascertaining whether the age of his workers or salaried employees—due regard being had to the requirements of the undertaking from the technical and economic points of view—is in accordance with the national interest, which requires that workers and salaried employees of a certain age, and particularly those with large families, shall have employment in preference to young workers and salaried employees under 25. Among the above-mentioned "requirements of the undertaking", account must be taken of the number of young persons who must be kept on for subsequent training as skilled workers.

Young men with wives and children, apprentices and employed persons who have been members of the Army, the Labour Service, the Agricultural Aid Service or the National Socialist troops may not be dismissed. Once the standards to be applied in the undertaking have been determined, the employer must put himself in touch with the employment exchange, which will inform him whether, and if so when, other employment, particularly in agriculture, the Voluntary Labour Service, the Agricultural Aid and domestic service, can be found for the surplus young members of his staff. A change in the constitution of staffs must not lead to a reduction in their numbers nor to involuntary unemployment among young persons. The employer must give the posts thus freed to the eldest workers and salaried employees who are out of work, these must as a rule be fathers of large families or mothers with children dependent on them, and unemployed persons of long standing who are dependent on poor relief should be taken specially into consideration.

The Order provides further that persons under 25 years of age may not be engaged in undertakings without the previous consent of the employment exchange, but this consent is not required in the case of apprentices. The exchange may give preferential treatment to young men under 25 who have belonged to the Army, the National Socialist troops, the Labour Service or the Agricultural Aid or deliberately left their posts in order to make room for older workers and have worked at least a year in agriculture.

Posts in agriculture and forestry which become vacant and cannot be given to workers in the appropriate occupations must be reserved for young men under 25 who have left non-agricultural undertakings. Young men may only be placed in agriculture by employment exchanges on the instructions of the President of the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.

Undertakings which engage, under certain conditions, unemployed male salaried employees over 40 years of age instead of salaried employees under 25 may be allowed a subsidy to compensate them for the loss of output incurred.

Subsidies are granted under certain conditions to employers who have had dwellings built for married agricultural workers, and compensation

is also allowed to employers who replace young agricultural workers by married men over 40 years of age

Disputes between heads of undertakings and employment exchanges, concerning the correct age standards in undertakings and the engagement of workers under 25 are to be decided in the first instance by the President of the State Employment Office and in case of appeal by the President of the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance

It is understood that this Order created something of a panic among the young workers of Germany, who feared that all of them were to be driven to the country districts

In *Italy*, an agreement concluded on 11 October 1934 between the employers' and the workers' Confederations with a view to reducing unemployment provided, as one of its measures, that the national Federations would study the position of women and juvenile workers so as to replace women by men and juveniles by adult workers wherever such a step was considered necessary and feasible. This measure was intended to be applied chiefly to work which, for physical or psychological reasons, was more suited for male adult workers, and also to work which might endanger the health of women or young persons

In *Poland* the Ministerial Council decided on 26 August 1931 to organise relief measures for unemployed persons which among other things aimed at replacing young persons under 17 years whose labour was not their sole means of livelihood by unemployed adults with family responsibilities. During the period 1931-1933 there was a considerable decrease in the percentage of young persons employed in mines, foundries and the manufacturing industries. While it is true that this decrease was due in part to the fact that owing to a further fall in wages the difference between the cost of employing adult and young workers became smaller, there can be no doubt that the action taken by the authorities also had a determining influence

In various countries measures have been taken for a number of years back to regulate the influx of young persons into industry and the handicrafts by limiting the number of apprentices or young workers who may be taken on by the undertakings. Limitations of this character are generally introduced under collective agreements or special regulations. In *Poland* this matter was dealt with by an Act of 7 November 1931 which stipulates that the number of young persons employed in industrial, commercial, transport, etc., undertakings may not exceed a certain percentage of the total number of adult workers, this percentage being fixed by administrative regulations issued under the Act. Regulations have been published by the Minister of Social Assistance fixing these percentages for the printing trades and glass-works. The number of apprentices in other branches of industry and in the handicrafts has also been fixed by administrative regulations. It had been noticed in fact that on the pretence of training apprentices a number of undertakings had so many boys and

girls on their strength that most of the work was done by young persons. In the printing trades the number of these so-called apprentices varied from 28 to 106 per cent of the number of adult workers. The spread of such practices is attributed mainly to the effects of the depression, which forced employers to look for cheap labour.

In some countries a minimum wage for young workers of a certain age has been fixed by collective agreements or regulations. This age is fixed at 21 years in the Australian States of *Victoria* and *Queensland*, and at 18 or 20 years in *Sweden*. Employers in these countries maintain that the work performed by these young persons is not always worth the wages paid, a fact which would seem to explain the large number of dismissals among young workers.

The Committee of Experts appointed by the Swedish Government to study the question of unemployment among young persons has also dealt with this question. In the opinion of the Committee the provision made in some collective agreements for the payment of a minimum wage to young workers and for the limitation of the right to engage young persons has not really increased the number of young unemployed, even although abuses have been detected in a number of isolated cases. The Committee admits, however, that the fixing of a minimum wage may have an influence on the distribution of workers according to age and that young persons of 18-20 years run the risk of being dismissed in favour of still younger workers.

A special aspect of the question under discussion is the position in the professional occupations, which since the war have been very overcrowded. An enquiry undertaken by the International Labour Office among professional workers' organisations brought to light the great want of proportion which exists in many cases between the number of certificated persons leaving higher educational establishments each year and the opportunities open for this growing mass of qualified professional workers<sup>1</sup>. Thus, in some countries the number of students has doubled and even trebled since the war. Between 1913 and 1932 it increased by 68 per cent. in Germany, 70 per cent in Italy, 78·7 per cent in France, 122·6 per cent in Norway, 151·4 per cent in Greece, 170 per cent. in India and 377·9 per cent in Bulgaria. As a result of this enormous

---

<sup>1</sup> INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE *Recruiting and Placing of Professional Workers*. Report submitted to the Fourth Session of the Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers, Nov. 1933, C.C.T.I. IV/2/1933.

influx to the universities and higher educational establishments, and of the decrease in the possibilities of employment during the depression, the balance between the number of qualified professional workers and the number of vacant posts has been completely upset. Thus, in the medical profession there are, it is stated, 1,100 annual openings in Germany for 1,700 newly qualified doctors, in Austria the corresponding figures are 150 openings for 350 doctors, in France 500 for over 1,000, in Norway about 50 for about 100, in Switzerland 80 for 150 and in Yugoslavia 200 for 350, while in Sweden it is estimated that the number of newly qualified doctors annually exceeds the number of vacancies by 60.

Among dentists, pharmacists and nurses overcrowding is equally prevalent in a number of countries. In occupations in which diplomas, etc., are not required, the overcrowding is just as great. Musicians, painters, journalists and theatrical artistes complain of more or less serious difficulties.

With a few rare exceptions all the organisations consulted by the Office unreservedly confirm the fact of overcrowding in the professional occupations.

Various remedial measures are suggested including some intended to reduce the influx of new recruits to the overcrowded professions by the introduction of barriers to limit either the admission of young persons through the normal channels or the migration of adults from other occupations. The measures proposed or already adopted in a certain number of professions naturally encounter lively opposition from the younger generation, which sees in them a further restriction of the possibilities of employment already sadly reduced as a result of the economic depression.

If proof were necessary, this state of affairs would tend to show the importance of vocational guidance schemes for candidates to professional careers. The Office enquiry clearly demonstrated, however, that measures of this kind are at present practically non-existent.

In a certain number of countries measures have been taken or proposed for reforming the existing higher educational system so as to restore the balance between the number of vacancies in professional careers and the number of candidates for such posts. Other countries, again, have instituted enquiries so as to obtain the necessary statistical basis for practical measures of this kind <sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> LEAGUE OF NATIONS, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION *Intellectual Co-operation*, Nos 37 and 39

The Parliament of *Finland* invited the Government in March 1934 to enquire into the extent of unemployment in the liberal professions

The *French* Ministry of Education has set up a University Statistics Office, the chief duty of which will be to study, with the help of statistics, the problem of achieving a balance between vacancies and applicants in the liberal professions and the public services. In some cases, such as the medical profession, it is believed that a detailed survey of the demand for intellectual work would provide a basis for the better distribution of doctors as between urban and rural areas and over different specialised branches of the profession

In *Germany*, where the number of qualified professional workers waiting for vacancies was recently estimated at about 150,000 and the number of posts vacant annually at about 10,500, the Government has limited to 15,000 (including 1,500 girls) the number of persons who will be allowed to pass into the universities in 1934

In *Hungary*, the Budapest Society of Advocates adopted a resolution requiring that the Faculty of Law in Budapest should admit no new students for a few years, on the grounds that the number of registered law practitioners at the Bar in Budapest is already excessive

In *India* the Ministry of Education of the United Provinces, in view of the increasing unemployment amongst the educated classes, has invited opinions on a number of proposals for reducing the High School course, lengthening the Higher Certificate course (which would be developed along four parallel lines—commercial, industrial, agriculture, and arts and science) and extending manual training or handicraft in the secondary schools with a view to predisposing boys with practical aptitudes towards industrial pursuits

The Conference of Indian Universities at Delhi, in March 1934, adopted a resolution to the effect that a practical solution of the problem of unemployment could be found only in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils should be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This would enable the universities to improve their standards of admission

An *Italian* Decree of 16 June 1932 made it compulsory for every department of the civil service to issue at the end of each year a list of the vacancies that would be filled by competition during the ensuing year, showing age limits, qualifications required and other conditions. The Italian press accordingly published the list for 1934, which announced 7,700 posts, of which 2,524 were reserved for candidates with university or other higher educational qualifications. As the number of persons who gained such qualifications in 1931-1932 was 8,651, only about 30 per cent of the number of graduates can hope to find employment in the civil service

In *Rumania*, the Confederation of Professional Workers appointed a committee to collect information concerning unemployment among professional workers. The Confederation protested against the employment of foreigners and asked to be represented on the committee for reviewing foreigners' labour permits

The *Swedish* Government appointed two experts to carry out an enquiry into the situation of professional workers, with a view to determining the number of qualified persons in the professions, their training,



distribution by age, sex, etc., the number of posts likely to fall vacant in future and the chances of promotion. Information will also be collected as to the number of professional workers out of employment and the number who are flagrantly underpaid or engaged on work for which they have no direct qualifications.

The Congress of Swedish Students' Organisations in January 1934 advocated limiting the number of students and raising the standard of the entrance examinations to higher schools.

The measures for the assistance of young unemployed persons which have been studied in the preceding chapters apply as a rule to workers in general and do not take any account of the special requirements of professional workers. These measures must lead, however, to additional openings for professional and other non-manual workers. For example, the raising of the age of admission to industrial employment and of the school-leaving age would necessitate an increase in the number of teachers, while steps taken to develop general and vocational instruction for young unemployed persons must result in the engagement of tutorial and administrative staff. Again, the establishment of work centres for young unemployed persons opens up possibilities for instructors and camp directors, for officials in charge of the administration and labour services and, finally, for the organisers of physical training and the utilisation of spare time.

A description is given below of the practical measures taken in a number of countries to provide new possibilities of employment for young workers.

In *Australia*, an Economic Adjustment Committee appointed by the Government of New South Wales is endeavouring to place young unemployed persons in commerce and industry, the handicrafts and the liberal professions. Some time ago the Ministry of Labour and Industry set up an Unemployment Research Council to take all possible steps to increase possibilities of employment. Special efforts are being made to provide employment for young persons in agriculture. The Government is contemplating the development of training farms where unemployed youths can follow a short intensive course in agricultural work supplemented by educational classes with a view to their ultimate establishment as independent farmers. The Council has also subsidised approved philanthropic organisations of public utility concerned with the development of possibilities of employment. Finally, the introduction of the Rural Employment Scheme has led to the placing of some 1,500 boys in farm work.

Young Citizens' Associations have been set up with a view to providing education and ultimate employment for young unemployed workers. These organisations include persons from all classes of society and are presided over as a rule by the local mayor or by the President of the County. The work of the local associations is co-ordinated by the Young Citizens' Advisory Council. In 1933, 35 associations with some 3,200 members were set up. During the course of that year, 600 young men and girls found employment through the various organisations.

In Queensland, the Government's policy has been mainly directed to training young boys leaving school in rural pursuits. The Salvation Army's Riverview Training Farm has within a period of two years trained and placed 200 youths in positions in various parts of the State. In 1933 the St. Lucia Training Farm, which is intended mainly for city-bred boys, trained and placed some 40 lads in agricultural employment.

In December 1932 the Minister of Labour and Industry introduced a scheme for placing youths direct with farmers for rural training purposes. Selected youths are allocated to approved farmers for a period of training of six months during which the Department of Labour and Industry provides a weekly allowance and the farmer keep and accommodation. After six months, the youth, if satisfactory, becomes an employee of the farmer. In October 1933, the Department reported that 96 youths had completed the period of training and 198 were still being trained.

In other Australian States, Government committees, social service leagues and other similar associations have taken steps of the same kind with a view to assisting young unemployed workers.

In *Austria*, in September 1932 the Ministry of Social Administration issued instructions to the district industrial committees in regard to the engagement in agriculture of unemployed Austrian workers in place of foreign seasonal workers. These measures are mainly concerned with young workers. All those who desire employment in seasonal agricultural work are requested to register with the employment exchanges, so far as possible in groups of about 20 persons each. The general conditions of work and the rates of wages were determined by agreement with the Federation of Agricultural and Forestry Workers. Unemployed persons engaged in agriculture in this way will not forfeit their right to unemployment benefit as insured industrial workers.

An unemployed worker who is found employment in agriculture is usually signed on for a period of six months, the Government paying a sum not exceeding 150 schillings for each man so placed. In the case of workers employed on beet cultivation, which requires a period of apprenticeship, two-thirds of the bonus is paid to the worker and the remainder to the employer, in the case of non-specialised work the whole bonus is paid to the employer, who boards and lodges the worker and pays him wages from the start. Representatives of the employment exchanges visit the men several times during their employment, particularly at the beginning, in order to encourage them and to help them in overcoming any difficulty which may have arisen.

The results of this policy have not been very encouraging. According to a recent report issued by the Vienna and District Employment Exchange, the number of persons placed in employment increased from 370 in 1930 to 481 in 1931 and 497 in 1932. About half the contracts are, however, terminated before the six months' period is over and only a very small minority leads to permanent work.

In *Germany*, the National Socialist Government has taken a number of steps to combat unemployment among young persons. They include measures to place young persons on farms as temporary assistants with a view to their definite employment as agricultural workers or their establishment as settlers. The organisation of these measures is based on two circulars issued by the President of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance dated 3 March 1933 and 7 May 1934 respectively. The aim of this scheme is defined as follows

"Peasant undertakings are still suffering from a scarcity of labour, a want which cannot be met in the ordinary way on account of the inability of the peasants to pay cash wages. For this reason members of peasant households, and more especially housewives, who are overburdened with work, cannot be relieved of a part of their task through the engagement of outside workers. Further, it is urgently necessary to re-establish connection between agriculture and unemployed persons in the towns and countryside in order to give such persons a fresh lease of life and also to speed up the practical solution of the question of land settlement. The aim of the Agricultural Aid Scheme is to place young unemployed workers in extra agricultural employment and to facilitate their employment by paying a subsidy" (from the Unemployment Insurance Fund or Emergency Fund)

Young persons may be placed only in peasant undertakings of a cultivated area not exceeding 50 hectares. Not more than two assistants may be assigned to any one undertaking. The subsidy payable by the public authorities is granted only in respect of labour which is additional to that employed in the undertaking during the corresponding quarter of the previous year and which would not be employed without the assistance of the scheme. Persons in receipt of unemployment insurance benefit, emergency allowances or communal relief may apply for a place as agricultural assistant, and the same applies to persons who are too young to have completed a qualifying period in unemployment insurance and whose qualifications make them suitable candidates for practical vocational training, or who have already been employed in a trade. The scheme applies in principle to persons of either sex under 25 years, but preference is given to unemployed youths under 20 who have completed a period of labour service.

As a rule, employment as an agricultural assistant is voluntary. But when persons suitable in every respect for such employment refuse to accept work on a farm, the employment exchange may decide that they are no longer to be considered as registered unemployed.

A subsidised worker must be engaged for a period of at least six months under a regular contract of employment. The farmer is bound to provide the worker with quarters and adequate nourishment and to pay him a wage. The wage is made up of the subsidy granted by the authorities and a sum payable by the farmer. The monthly subsidy is fixed at 15 RM on an average, it varies from 12 to 18 RM for youths and from 8 to 14 RM for girls. The normal rate of wages is rarely paid in practice as the subsidised worker is not usually a fully qualified agricultural worker. Wages vary according to district, the age of the worker and his capabilities.

The subsidy is granted for a period of six months which may be extended by a similar period provided that at the end of the second six months the farmer agrees to retain the subsidised worker for at least another six months as an ordinary farm hand.

The farmer must also undertake to teach the subsidised worker enough to enable the latter to be placed by the employment office as an ordinary farm hand at a later date.

Employment as an agricultural assistant is covered by all the provisions of social legislation, and thus differs legally from employment in a labour camp. Young persons taking up employment on farms may also be allowed travelling expenses and an outfit allowance.

A peasant is bound to accept a subsidised worker as a member of his household, to initiate him into all branches of agricultural work, and to teach him everything that a future independent farmer should know.

The Agricultural Aid Scheme has developed very rapidly. During its first year of application (1 March 1933 to 15 February 1934), 270,000 young men and women were enrolled altogether as agricultural assistants. On 15 February 1934 about 120,000 persons were working as assistants, a figure which represents a very small seasonal fall in comparison with the maximum figure of 127,000 reached in the autumn of 1933. The contingent for 1934 has been fixed at 160,000 persons. In most cases the persons placed were working for the first time in agriculture and consisted mainly of craftsmen, industrial workers, salaried employees, shop girls, shorthand-typists, etc.

In order to give a fresh impetus to land settlement, the President of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance has authorised the placing of groups of agricultural assistants as probationers in undertakings for settlement, as a rule under the control of public utility societies. In this case, the young persons are sent to camps organised by the management of the undertaking concerned. Such young persons receive some slight cash remuneration at a rate equivalent to that established for the Labour Service. The subsidy paid to the camp management may not exceed 25 RM per person per month. This scheme is concerned more particularly with young persons who have completed a period in the Labour Service.

Another scheme for the placing of young unemployed persons consists in the establishment, by the *Arbeitsdienst* organisation, of special camps for young persons who have been in the Labour Service, so that they may acquire a knowledge of agricultural work. After instruction in these camps, young persons are placed for a period of several years with peasants, rural craftsmen or gardeners. This training is intended to enable young persons to take up employment as independent farmers.

Up to the present, experience has shown that despite all the measures taken not more 10 to 15 per cent of the voluntary workers have remained on the land and that only about 1 per cent have settled on the land as independent farmers.

Young persons who have completed a period of labour service are also catered for by other measures which aim at finding permanent employment for those who have attended a "citizenship school" set up by the Labour Service. Thus, for example, the Ministry of the Interior circularised the Federal and State authorities on 1 November 1933 requesting them when engaging officials to give priority to persons who have been in the branch of the Labour Service organised for persons with degrees or diplomas.

With regard to the placing of other young workers from the Labour Service in regular employment, this question has already been dealt with in the first section of this chapter.

In May 1934 a "Domestic Service Year" scheme for girls was started. The aim of this scheme is to provide a sort of apprenticeship in domestic service and other branches of woman's work and to ensure that girls leaving school will find some sort of temporary employment.

Commenting on a Circular which he sent on this subject to the employment exchanges, the President of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance stated that the number of girls leaving school at Easter 1934 had almost doubled in comparison with previous years. Most of these girls would find no employment either as workers or learners, and would thus be exposed to unemployment although there was plenty of work to be done in German households. Domestic work was suitable for those girls and domestic training would help them to perform their future duties as

mothers and housekeepers For these reasons, housekeepers are requested to receive into their homes young girls who will help them with their housework and the care of the children This arrangement must not, however, lead to the dismissal of paid domestic servants and no wages will therefore be paid to such girls The mistress of the house will, however, have to pay their sickness insurance contributions

Local committees comprising representatives of the various institutions concerned with this scheme will deal with applications for domestic help, which will be passed to them by the vocational guidance services of the employment exchanges After a probationary period of six weeks, a kind of contract will be drawn up between the housewives and the girls concerned At the end of her year of domestic service, the girl will receive a certificate and the vocational guidance service of the Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance will find work for her in domestic service or in some other branch of woman's work

In *Great Britain*, a special effort has been made since 1928 to transfer young workers from the depressed areas to more prosperous parts of the country A sum of money was set aside from the Coalfields Distress Fund, raised voluntarily in 1927-1928, and supplemented by the Government, for the special purpose of assisting the transfer of juveniles by contributions to the juvenile's income where industrial wages in the new area were insufficient for his or her full maintenance In addition, travelling fares are paid from public funds for juveniles transferred from one district to another

From February 1928 to December 1933, 19,532 young persons including 8,388 boys and 11,144 girls were transferred under this scheme Of the girls, 661 were found industrial employment and 10,483 were sent to domestic service Most of the juveniles transferred came from the mining districts of South Wales and Durham The Ministry of Labour considers that two out of every three persons established themselves definitely in the district to which they were transferred

In *Hungary*, in order to alleviate unemployment among professional workers, the Government has requested industrial undertakings, banking institutions and agricultural circles to co-operate in a campaign to facilitate the placing in employment of a certain number of young unemployed professional workers in possession of a university or other degree

The National Placing Committee for unemployed persons in possession of a degree keeps a register of all such persons which contains details of their professional training and thus helps employers to make a choice It is considered that from 240 to 250 graduates will be found work in industry through this scheme Other measures being contemplated include the employment of a number of young graduates in public offices

In *Italy*, a Decree of 16 June 1932 made it compulsory to hold examinations at regular intervals for civil service appointments Thus each generation of students has an equal opportunity of competing for these posts

By Decree of 1 June 1933 the Government made it illegal to give paid employment of any kind to retired civil or municipal servants with pensions exceeding a specified amount In this way it is hoped that former public servants will be prevented from constituting an obstacle to the periodical renewal of the staff in public services

In *New Zealand*, Boy Unemployment Committees have been set up in various centres and during the twelve months ended 31 August 1933 have found jobs for 4,458 unemployed youths. The Unemployment Board assisted these committees by making grants for the purpose of meeting administrative expenses and accorded subsidies which enabled over 2,000 youths of 18-20 years of age to be placed in agricultural employment.

In *Sweden*, the Committee of Experts set up by Parliament to study the question of unemployment among young persons has made a number of enquiries into the possibilities of finding employment for young persons through the medium of collective agreements. The Committee has consulted employers' and workers' representatives on this matter. It rejected as inopportune a proposal to place young unemployed persons as additional workers in industry and agriculture at a wage to be paid in part by the State.

The question of creating fresh opportunities for employment for young workers was also discussed at the International Conference of Associations of Disabled and other Ex-Service Men (20-22 September 1934), which passed a resolution urging Governments, as employers of labour, to set an example by dismissing from their services all retired public servants who had been reappointed temporarily and replacing them by unemployed young persons, more especially those orphaned by the war.

\* \* \*

Besides these attempts to create more or less permanent normal employment, there are a number of other ways of increasing the employment possibilities open to the younger generation. In the first place, a system of shorter hours might be introduced, as this would enable employment to be given to a larger number of young workers. Such a scheme would entail an adjustment of employment among young workers similar to that recommended as a remedy against adult unemployment. The practical application of this scheme can be based either on a reduction of daily or weekly hours below the normal level or in the introduction of a system of short time. In the second case it might be arranged for young persons to be employed on paid work for a given number of hours a day and for them to attend general or vocational training courses during the rest of the day. Whatever method were adopted, fresh chances of employment would be opened up for new batches of young persons.

It might be objected that any such scheme would result in serious technical difficulties for persons employing young workers. While recognising this possibility, it may be recalled that even at present employers in a number of countries are required to observe special provisions concerning the hours of work of young persons. When the age for admission to employment is lower than the school-

leaving age, special provisions have generally been adopted to allow children to continue their schooling after entering paid employment. Even when there is no difference between the age for admission to employment and the school-leaving age, national legislation, desirous of helping children who have completed their primary studies to complete their education and to follow vocational courses, requires employers to comply with a special time-table so far as children are concerned. This is the case, for example, when attendance at continuation schools is made compulsory by law, as has already been done in a number of countries<sup>1</sup>

A wider application of such measures and their extension to young persons not at present covered by legislative provisions would undoubtedly increase the possibilities of employment open to such persons. The Inter-Parliamentary Conference (Istanbul, September 1934) expressed the view that, in order to provide work for as large a number of young people as possible, it would be expedient to follow the system of half-days' work or of shifts working for a few hours only.

Another possibility of this kind is to be found in the lowering of the retiring age for elderly workers. Any step in this direction would benefit young and adult workers alike, while the fact that the workers' strength is exhausted more rapidly than in the past by the increased physical effort which he is now called upon to furnish, does seem to justify the introduction of some such measure. A thorough study of this question cannot of course be included in this Report. Attention must, however, be called to the matter especially in view of the fact that it is already being considered by the competent authorities in a number of countries. In *Sweden* for example, the Ministry of Social Affairs has requested the Office of Industry, Commerce and Mercantile Shipping to ascertain to what extent the compulsory retirement of industrial workers over 67 years of age would speed up the engagement of young workers. This enquiry is being pursued in conjunction with an investigation into proposals to facilitate the optional retirement of elderly workers in order to alleviate unemployment among young persons. The National Pensions Office has been asked to give an opinion as to the possibility of introducing such measures, pending the passage through Parliament of the Pensions Act.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf Chapter II

### § 3 — Conclusions

The present chapter deals with a large number of questions which are all directly connected with the development of employment possibilities open to young workers. Many of these questions call for a more detailed analysis than it has been possible to include in this Report.

The first question is that of the organisation of the placing of young persons. The special problems raised by the search for employment by this class of worker have led in a number of countries to the creation of special services for workers under 18 years within the general system of public employment exchanges. Vocational guidance for young persons organised by the employment exchanges or other public institutions is an essential feature of all such systems. When such measures are not organised by the employment exchanges definite steps must be taken to ensure collaboration between the placing and guidance officers and between the placing services and the vocational and other schools.

It appears to be desirable, however, that the help given to young persons entering a trade should not be restricted to guiding and placing them in employment suitable to their personal capacity and skill but that it should also include the industrial supervision of those for whom work has been found, so as to help the young to overcome the initial difficulties which arise in all new jobs.

The improved organisation of the juvenile labour market would tend to prevent juveniles from entering trades and industries in a state of decline and which cannot possibly offer much future. Special attention should be given to blind-alley occupations which generally require no previous training, in which the young worker learns nothing of value for his future, and from which he is generally dismissed on reaching 16 or 17 years of age, a time when he experiences great difficulty in obtaining fresh employment.

The practical value of all measures for the placing and vocational guidance of young persons depends largely on the extent to which they are applied to the majority if not the whole body of persons for whom they are intended. One of the measures proposed is to make the recruiting of young persons through the employment exchanges compulsory for all and to require that all vacancies for young persons be notified to the exchanges.



In some countries measures have been taken to expand possibilities of employment open to young persons. Attempts have been made to transfer young persons to occupations or districts less affected by unemployment which naturally offer better chances. Such measures include, for example, the placing of young unemployed persons in agriculture as independent farmers or agricultural labourers and the guidance of girls into domestic occupations.

Another possibility contemplated in this connection is the reduction of the hours worked by young persons by the introduction of short-time, a part of the day being reserved for work and the other part given over to the improvement of their general and vocational knowledge. Finally, the theory has been put forward in various quarters that the introduction of a lower retiring age for elderly workers would also contribute towards the provision of more employment for young and older workers alike.

---

## CONSULTATION OF GOVERNMENTS

---

*It is clear from the foregoing survey that a number of countries have taken important measures to protect young people against the consequences of unemployment. Most of these measures are of fairly recent origin, since it is only during the past few years that the problem has become such a serious one, causing widespread concern and leading to its being placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference.*

*An attempt has been made to describe these measures in the five chapters of this Report. They cover in the first place the statistical determination of the extent of the unemployment, which is necessary to define the scope and conditions for the application of remedial measures. The measures described in Chapter II aim primarily at relieving the congestion on the juvenile labour market by extending the school life of boys and girls and raising the minimum age of admission to paid employment. This type of measure is in harmony with the potential increase in prosperity which is assured as a result of the technical progress of recent years provided that a satisfactory form of economic organisation can be achieved. Secondly, wherever the statutory school-leaving age has not yet been raised, steps are taken to provide occupation of the most useful kind possible for boys and girls who have left school and are unable to find employment. Chapter III describes the measures introduced to provide vocational training or general education for young persons, or to supply them with recreational activities which may serve to counteract the demoralising effects of idleness, while in Chapter IV an account is given of those measures which, besides having an educational purpose like those already described, also seek to occupy unemployed juveniles on work which although not strictly speaking ordinary employment is nevertheless of direct productive value, such as schemes to establish the young workers concerned in camps with a view to their employment on relief works. Lastly, Chapter V deals with provisions to facilitate*

*the placing of unemployed young persons or to increase the amount of employment available for them*

*On the basis of this survey, the International Labour Office has drawn up the following list of points on which it considers that Governments might usefully be consulted, in conformity with the provisions of Article 6, paragraph 4, of the Standing Orders of the Conference.*

*It will be observed that the Office considers that the question can more suitably be dealt with by a Recommendation than by a Draft Convention. Most of the measures in question do not appear to require that countries should undertake the mutual liabilities involved by an international Convention, but rather call for the pooling of experience gained with a view to determining the most effective and therefore most desirable methods of dealing with the problem*

*It is true that the Report refers to certain measures, such as the fixing of a minimum age of admission to employment, which have already been dealt with in several international Conventions. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the Conference will deem it expedient to amend the measures adopted in this form otherwise than by the normal procedure for revision, and here again, therefore, the Office is of the opinion that a Recommendation, if not a resolution in this case, is the most appropriate way of dealing with the question*

*There are other points in respect of which a Draft Convention might at first sight appear a more suitable form of regulation than a Recommendation, such as the question of the continuation of general education or technical or vocational training beyond the statutory school-leaving age, which opens up the whole problem of secondary education and technical or vocational training. Nevertheless, the temptation to follow this line must be resisted, since on the one hand the question of secondary education is not within the purview of the International Labour Organisation, and on the other the question of technical and vocational training, although undoubtedly within the competence of the Organisation, cannot be adequately dealt with merely as an aspect of the unemployment problem. The Conference has already intimated its wish to see the question of vocational training placed on its agenda, and will perhaps take advantage of the discussion on unemployment among young persons to record its definite intention of adopting international regulations concerning vocational training. In the view of the Office, however, this question should be put before the Conference as a separate item on the agenda of a later Session*

*The list of points also covers the fixing of a minimum age for compulsory school attendance. In this matter there is, of course, no intention of touching on the educational aspects of the question, such*

*as the syllabus of subjects which should be taught during the extra period of schooling, or the teaching methods to be recommended All that the Organisation as such is concerned with is the expediency of raising the school-leaving age as a means of mitigating unemployment among young persons*

## FORM OF THE REGULATION

### 1. Recommendation.

## STATISTICS

### 2. Determination of the extent of unemployment among young persons:

- (a) according to current statistics of the unemployed based on unemployment insurance, employment exchanges, etc.;
- (b) by special enquiries;
- (c) at the time of the general census of the population.

### 3. Classification of unemployed young persons:

- (a) by occupation;
- (b) by sex;
- (c) by age groups (juveniles, young adults below a certain age);
- (d) according to whether they have never had any paid employment or have already had such employment;
- (e) in other ways.

## SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE AND AGE OF ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT

### 4. Minimum age at which compulsory full-time education should finish.

5. (a) Compulsory full-time education after the school-leaving age has been reached until suitable employment has been found;

(b) definition of the term "suitable employment".

6. Minimum age of admission to employment.

7. Compulsory or voluntary part-time continuation classes after full-time education has been finished.

8. Kind of education to be given to children who have reached the minimum school-leaving age referred to in point 4 (general, technical or vocational).

9. Measures to encourage young people who attend full-time secondary or technical schools or universities to prolong their studies.

#### GENERAL EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND SOCIAL SERVICE FOR UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PERSONS

10. Compulsory or voluntary nature of courses of education and training.

11. (a) Special courses for the unemployed;

(b) Admission of unemployed young persons to regular courses already in existence;

(c) Co-ordination of the special courses with the regular courses;

(d) Kind of education (general, technical or vocational);

(e) Measures to facilitate the apprenticeship of young unemployed persons in industrial undertakings;

(f) Organisation of lectures (programme of the lectures and choice of lecturers);

(g) Social service, physical training and recreation.

12. Distinction to be drawn between measures for juveniles and those for young adults.

13. Role of the public authorities, the occupational organisations and other private organisations.

## **OCCUPATION OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PERSONS IN EMPLOYMENT CENTRES ORGANISED FOR PRODUCTIVE AND EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES**

### **14. Organisation of the centres:**

- (a) voluntary or compulsory centres;
- (b) conditions of admission;
- (c) length of stay;
- (d) residential or non-residential; payments made to the young persons;
- (e) engagement of leaders and instructors;
- (f) bodies entrusted with the organisation of the centres.

### **15. (a) Organisation and financing of the works;**

- (b) specialisation of the work, regard being had to the sex and the future career of the persons concerned (young skilled workers, young non-manual workers);
- (c) application of labour legislation and in particular of social insurance.

### **16. Courses of education (physical, vocational or general).**

### **17. Guarantees:**

- (a) against competition with workers in ordinary employment;
- (b) against the use of the centres for purposes of military education.

## **PLACING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSSIBILITIES OF NORMAL EMPLOYMENT**

### **18. Organisation of placing:**

- (a) special departments for juveniles;
- (b) vocational guidance of juveniles;
- (c) co-ordination of vocational guidance and placing;
- (d) protection and supervision of juveniles who have been placed in employment.

19. Measures relating to blind-alley occupations.

20. Relations of the employment exchanges with other bodies dealing with unemployed young persons.

21. Development of the possibilities of employment for young persons:

- (a) in agriculture;
  - (b) in other occupations;
  - (c) by special measures limiting hours of labour.
-

## PART II

### DRAFT INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS

---

#### I. — COMMENTARY ON PROPOSED DRAFT

As is pointed out in the introduction to this Report, when the Governing Body of the International Labour Office placed the question of unemployment among young persons on the agenda of the Nineteenth Session of the Conference it foresaw the possibility of the Conference wishing to take an immediate decision on the international measures to be adopted, without passing through the usual double-discussion procedure. If the Conference decides to do this at the Nineteenth Session, it will not simply instruct the Office to consult Governments by means of a questionnaire, with a view to the adoption of international regulations in 1936, it will adopt these regulations at that Session. With this in mind the Governing Body authorised the Office to submit draft international regulations to the Conference this year as a basis for immediate discussion.

The Office has therefore prepared the draft international regulations which are printed at the end of the present Report. This draft is in the form of a Recommendation for the reasons given on page 156. It would appear, however, that on certain points which might be placed on the agenda of later Sessions of the Conference the Recommendation now proposed might lead to the adoption of Conventions dealing not only with young unemployed persons but with young workers in general. On this question the Office is submitting a draft Resolution to the Conference to which reference will be made further on.

In the drafting of these texts the Office has followed the list of points which appears at the end of Part I of this Report, except that their order has been changed.

On the question of urgency, it is the duty of the Office to draw attention to the report on child welfare submitted to the Fifteenth



Ordinary Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1934<sup>1</sup>, and accepted by it. The report contains the following passage

“The Fifth Committee was gratified to note that the serious problem of unemployment among young people had been placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference in 1935, and that, in view of the urgency of the question, the Governing Body had instructed the International Labour Office to enable the Conference to reach at its next Session a decision making generally applicable the successful experiments carried out in certain countries, and hoped that the Conference would achieve this result at its next Session.”

Unemployment among young persons raises a large number of problems, some of which are identical with the problems of unemployment among workers generally while others are peculiar to young persons. It is this latter group only that will be dealt with here.

But it must always be borne in mind that the fundamental problem in connection with young unemployed persons as with all other unemployed workers is to put an end to their lack of employment. This is unfortunately complicated by a host of economic difficulties with which the International Labour Conference can hardly deal in the course of a discussion on unemployment among young persons. It may, however, be recalled that the Conference has at various times, and more particularly at its last two Sessions, advocated the adoption of a series of economic measures likely, in its opinion, to remedy the depression. These measures include the restoration of stable monetary conditions, the establishment of the system of international co-operation best calculated to prevent future disastrous fluctuations of the price level, the cessation of economic warfare between nations by the concerted elimination of restrictions on international exchanges, the increase in the purchasing power of the community, the restoration to circulation of the capital now lying idle by all appropriate means and notably by adoption of a public works policy. On this last point the Conference has already decided that the International Labour Organisation should take active steps on its own initiative.

The Conference has thus outlined a complete programme of economic measures which, if applied, would do much to reduce the present widespread unemployment both among young persons

---

<sup>1</sup> Report presented by Madame Malaterre Sellier (France) on behalf of the Fifth Committee of the Assembly. A 52 1934 IV

and among adults But at the moment we are still in a period of depression, unemployment is there and is weighing heavily on numbers of young people Since it has proved impossible to prevent unemployment, what can and must be done to mitigate its effects ? That is the question which the present Report is intended to bring before the Conference It is true that Part I of the Report contains a survey of various measures which aim either at relieving the labour market by raising the school-leaving age, for example, or at facilitating the placing of young persons and the creation of employment openings for them. The Office is far from denying the importance of such measures, on the contrary, it would suggest that the Conference should urge their adoption by all States that have not so far done so or have not adequately developed them. But it must be admitted that, in comparison with the fundamental economic action which is, as has just been mentioned, urgently required, these measures are mere palliatives for the depression and the resulting widespread unemployment among young persons, they are, however, palliatives that, in the opinion of the Office, are essential

Consequently, in the following pages, the Office considers successively measures concerning:

- (1) The school-leaving age, the age for admission to employment, general and vocational education,
- (2) Recreational and social service for young unemployed persons,
- (3) Action by trade organisations and private organisations,
- (4) Special employment centres;
- (5) Placing and development of opportunities for normal employment;
- (6) Statistics.

(1) SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE, AGE FOR ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT;  
GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

There are two obvious methods of remedying the state of affairs that leaves so many young workers or would-be workers without employment increase the number of jobs or reduce the number of candidates The first of these, as was mentioned, depends chiefly on the general revival of economic activity, although there are certain measures, to be referred to later, which can and should be taken even during a depression The present section deals

only with measures for reducing the number of young candidates for employment, which are at the same time measures of social progress

The most important of these is the dual measure—for the two must go together—of raising the school-leaving age and the minimum age for admission to employment

Due mention has been made in this Report of the series of international Conventions already adopted for fixing the minimum age for admission to employment. With certain specified exceptions (above or below the normal limit) the minimum age at present is 14 years. The question is whether it would or should now be raised. The revision of these Conventions is not on the agenda of the present Session, but it will doubtless have to be considered soon (see draft Resolution, page 186). When the balance has been restored between productive capacity and consumption the vast majority of workers will be able again to find employment, and the young persons at present out of work will be required. This return of prosperity furthered by technical progress will lead to a raising of the standard of living, but on the other hand the intellectual standard should also be raised by the development of general education. This latter aim involves raising the school-leaving age, and it implies at the same time restricting still further the right to employ young persons in wage-paid jobs. A certain balance requires to be held between these two aims, and the undue stress which some countries may lay on material progress must not be allowed to hamper, through competitive difficulties on the world market, the efforts of other countries to raise intellectual standards. Hence the value of international Conventions for raising the minimum age for admission to employment, since the purpose of these Conventions, according to the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace, is to ensure that the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour should not be an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

Until such time, however, as the machinery can be set in motion for the revision of those Conventions, something must be done to deal at once with this serious situation. As a result of unemployment, a very large number of young persons are at present exposed to a grave risk of demoralisation. They should therefore be kept longer—in fact, as long as possible—at school, where they can be kept from idleness and given further education. But this measure must not be a mere temporary remedy for the period of

depression, it must be a preparation for a more prosperous future. It is for that reason that it is desirable to recommend simultaneously as a permanent measure the raising of the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment (point 1)<sup>1</sup>.

A number of countries have already fixed the age 15. It is true that in several countries unemployment has been found to be less intense among juveniles than among young adults in a slightly higher age group—a phenomenon that may be explained by the desire of some employers to engage juvenile labour at the lowest wages and avoid the payment of social insurance contributions, which are sometimes not due in respect of workers under a certain age higher than the age of admission to employment. They therefore elect to take on youngsters of 14 and dismiss them again two or three years later. This anti-social practice would be prevented in some degree by raising the school-leaving age, so that some of the slightly older persons at present out of work would find openings in the jobs now held by juveniles of 14 years or even less.

In view of the extent of unemployment, it would seem that compulsory school attendance should not be limited to children under the age of 15 years. The Office would recommend that it should be extended to young persons over 15 who cannot find suitable employment (point 2). It is shown in Part I of this Report that there is already a movement in many countries in favour of keeping juveniles voluntarily at school so long as no suitable employment is available for them. The Office suggests that this practice be systematically applied by the development of constant collaboration between the education and the placing authorities.

This raises the question of what constitutes "suitable" employment. Reference has already been made to the disastrous effects of blind-alley employment both for the individual and for society; workers in these occupations with no future are always dismissed after two or three years' service, and they have then to begin their real career. It is not surprising that the employment they then find proves less remunerative than the career that would have been open to them if the wasted years had been spent in learning a trade. Efforts should therefore be made to eliminate blind-alley employment in which young persons waste their time. Unsuitable

---

<sup>1</sup> The points in the Recommendation to which the commentary refers are indicated in brackets

employment must also be taken as including employment in any trade where there are already a number of unemployed young persons belonging to a slightly older group who should be placed first. This is a problem of vocational guidance which will be dealt with later.

If it is agreed that young persons should be kept longer at school, the next question is what they should learn. To a great extent this is a problem that does not fall within the province of the International Labour Office, for it is mainly one of general educational theory, into which the Office cannot enter. But the prolongation of the period of compulsory school attendance also raises the question of vocational training, which is one of the problems mentioned in the constitution of the Organisation. It was pointed out earlier that the Conference had already expressed a desire to have this question brought before it at some future date. A draft Resolution appended to this Report gives the Conference an opportunity to reiterate this desire. The question might be dealt with on a subsequent occasion by a Convention or a Recommendation applying not only to unemployed young persons, but to all young workers. The Office therefore considers that the possibility of a Convention would in no wise be prejudiced but rather strengthened, and at the same time the urgent needs of the young unemployed would be met, if the Conference touched in its Recommendation on certain aspects of the general problem of vocational training. It therefore suggests that the Conference should consider the desirability of recommending in the first place (point 3) that the *curriculum* for the extended period of school attendance to the age of 15 years or over should, while aiming essentially at general education, include a certain preparation for the juvenile's future work, such preparation being considered as a necessary part of a sound general education, and in the second place (point 4) that measures be taken to encourage juveniles who have passed the minimum school-leaving age to attend voluntarily, provided they have the requisite ability, full-time courses in secondary or technical schools. These measures, although applying to all young persons, would be of special value for those who are unemployed in that they would help some of them to use their leisure to train more thoroughly for the future, and also because they would remove the youngest of the unemployed young persons from the labour market and leave more employment for the older ones.

After dealing with full-time school attendance, compulsory up

to the age of 15 and voluntary thereafter, the Office suggests that the attention of the Conference be turned to continuation courses. It is proposed that the Conference should recommend (point 5) that it be made compulsory for all juveniles, even if they are in employment, to attend continuation courses that combine general education and vocational training. This is already done in several countries. If a juvenile is unemployed, such courses constitute a safeguard against his being condemned to complete idleness and stagnation, it provides him with moral support in that his education proceeds in spite of his unemployment.

Provision must also be made for cases where continuation classes are not compulsory for all juveniles. In such cases the Office proposes the recommendation (point 6) that courses of instruction should be made compulsory for all unemployed persons under the age of 18 years, either in the form of attendance at existing continuation classes or by the organisation of special classes for their benefit. The first of these alternatives has the advantage of keeping the young who are out of work in touch with young workers, but the second one enables young unemployed persons to be given a larger number of hours of training per day or per week than is possible with juveniles in employment, for whom courses are often held in the evenings only. It is, of course, possible to combine the two systems by making it compulsory for unemployed young persons up to the age of 18 to attend ordinary continuation classes and certain special classes in addition. The possibility of organising special courses naturally depends on the concentration of juvenile unemployment in certain places or areas and the occupational grouping of the young persons in question. It has often been remarked that young persons who voluntarily attended continuation classes when they were unemployed continue to do so after they find work. It is obviously desirable that everything should be done to encourage this practice.

The situation of unemployed persons of 18 to 24 years of age differs from that of juveniles in that there can be no question of making continuation classes compulsory. But several Governments have successfully instituted vocational training centres at which general education is not neglected. These centres may be residential or not, according to circumstances, and the payment of benefits or allowances to unemployed young persons may be made dependent on attendance at a centre. In the proposed international regulations (point 7), just as in the existing national schemes, there can be no suggestion of making such a scheme

compulsory for all unemployed persons of 18 to 24 years of age or even for all those between these ages who are in receipt of unemployment benefit or relief. Centres for vocational training are required only in so far as there are possibilities of employment for the young persons who receive such training. Consequently, while it may be desirable for the authorities to have the right to withhold benefit or relief from a young unemployed person who, for no valid reason, declines to attend such a centre, it seems probable that in practice the number of applicants will generally exceed the number of vacancies, and that the available places will be filled without any need for compulsion.

The *curriculum* of general educational courses for unemployed young persons must be very carefully arranged so as to arouse and hold their interest. The choice of subjects should not be left to occasional lecturers each selecting his own theme, but should be planned in advance in consultation with the pupils themselves. It should include in particular the positive and applied sciences and practical subjects of occupational, local and national interest. It has also been suggested that the programme of these courses should include such questions as the work of the League of Nations in the cause of peace and that of the International Labour Organisation in the cause of social justice. The value of this general education will always depend very largely on the choice of instructors. No doubt, certain skilled instructors will be available among the unemployed young persons themselves, whether they have been engaged in manual or non-manual work. The programme advocated (point 8) will thus provide employment for them.

If attendance at courses of instruction or vocational training centres is made compulsory, there must be some penalty for non-compliance—generally the withholding of unemployment benefit or allowances. More important than a penalty, however, is the question of encouraging attendance. For this purpose it is suggested that young persons for whom such attendance is compulsory, or their families, should receive a supplementary allowance to cover the cost of transport and any other expenses which the courses may sometimes involve. The draft Recommendation (point 9) deals with these two questions.

The question of prolonging the period of study of young persons who are unemployed after completing a course of secondary, technical or higher education is quite different from that of those who have only had an elementary education. Yet this group also is suffering at present from a very overcrowded labour market, and

until the opportunities for employment for them become more numerous, it seems desirable to recommend (point 10) that facilities be given either for employment as student-employees (possibly by means of bilateral agreements between Governments), or for further study in the case of those who do not at once find a post, even as student-employees, where they can use the knowledge they have acquired. If the overcrowding of the liberal professions proves to be a lasting phenomenon, resulting from the fact that too many young persons are guided to these professions, care will have to be taken to ensure that a prolongation of the period of study does not accentuate this tendency and foster the undesirable idea that a manual occupation is in any way beneath the dignity of a person who has completed a course of secondary or even university education. As education advances, it will become more and more common for even the simplest tasks to be performed by persons with a wide education, for which they will find an outlet in their leisure pursuits rather than in their work.

The vocational training centres to which reference is made above and also the recreational, social service and employment centres which are dealt with in the following sections require a fairly large qualified staff which might, to a considerable extent, be recruited from among the young unemployed persons who have the necessary qualifications. The Office, basing itself on measures which have been adopted in several countries, proposes a recommendation (point 11) to the effect that special training centres should be set up for that purpose.

## (2) RECREATIONAL AND SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE YOUNG UNEMPLOYED

As has been seen above, the best use to which young unemployed persons can put their enforced leisure is to attend courses of general education or vocational training. But some of these courses are often limited to one or two hours a day or even to a few hours a week, certain days being blank. They therefore leave too much time for demoralising idleness and must be supplemented by other measures (point 12). The purpose of these is to provide young unemployed persons with opportunities for healthy pastimes, and they consist largely in the organisation of centres for recreation, reading, lectures, concerts, conducted visits to museums, sports, etc. No attempt will be made to give an exhaustive list of the possi-



bilities, which vary according to local circumstances. Moreover, there can be no doubt that it is very important to leave these young persons as much freedom as possible to select the forms of recreation they prefer. One of the greatest moral dangers to which young unemployed persons are exposed is probably the loss through inaction of that sense of individual and social responsibility that active work confers. As far as possible, therefore, the recreation centres should be managed by the unemployed themselves, but this does not mean, of course, that the intervention of a responsible person, appointed to advise and supervise the young persons in the development of their recreative activities, will not be permissible and indeed essential for the stability of the institution. In many of these centres, work is considered by the unemployed as one of the best of recreations, the premises are often built by the young unemployed persons, who also engage in various small jobs for themselves or their families, such as repairing boots or clothing. They may also learn to do a number of small jobs which will enable them to make their homes more agreeable places to live in.

It is obviously not desirable that these centres should be reserved exclusively for unemployed young persons; if young workers in employment can also be attracted to the centres so much the better, for this prevents the unemployed from feeling shut off from the rest of the world.

It is also clear that when there are in existence young people's organisations that cater permanently for the educational and recreational needs of their members, even when they are unemployed, there is no need to create special centres for these young persons, who can still move in their usual circle.

But there are other needs besides education and recreation, institutions are required to provide material assistance for the unemployed—quite apart from insurance funds and organisations for granting cash relief, which are not dealt with in this Report because the Conference dealt with this question at its Eighteenth Session. Many young unemployed persons leave home and, in the absence of public employment services which are sufficiently co-ordinated from the point of view of labour clearing, tramp through the country in search of work. Some accommodation is needed for these homeless wanderers, and the Office therefore proposes that the Conference should recommend (point 13) the establishment of hostels where unemployed persons can obtain board and lodging at little cost.

### (3) ACTION BY TRADE ORGANISATIONS AND PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS

Although the arrangements for general and vocational training are usually made by the authorities, there are numerous countries in which important educational work is undertaken by the leading trade or religious organisations, to which the authorities sometimes pay subsidies for this work. The initiative in setting up centres for recreation and social service nearly always comes from the workers' organisations or from private social, philanthropic or religious associations, sometimes acting under the supervision or with the support of the public authorities. It is suggested (point 14) that the Conference should urge Governments to assist private efforts in this field.

### (4) SPECIAL EMPLOYMENT CENTRES

Until such time as normal employment can be found for these young persons and in so far as those over 18 cannot all be trained in the vocational training centres referred to above, steps have been taken in various countries, to set up employment centres in which, although the idea of general education or vocational training is by no means entirely absent, the chief aim is to make the young workers engage in some immediately productive work. This generally takes the form of public works, but the centres do not employ the young persons under normal working conditions as in the case of public works of the ordinary kind. In this respect the system bears some resemblance to that of public relief works, it differs, however, from them in that the young workers are formed into groups not only for working purposes but also for the rest of their time, which they generally spend in a camp or under a common roof. These young unemployed persons are removed from their family circle and their usual surroundings, and they must therefore find in the employment centre everything that is required to make up their lives for the time being: work, education and recreation.

It has already been pointed out that precautions should be taken to prevent these centres from being dominated by ideas of military training and discipline and from having an unfavourable influence on the level of wages, as would be the case if the young persons in the centres were made to do work at very low rates.

which could be undertaken under normal conditions of employment. In the absence of a first discussion which would have provided information on the views of Governments and of employers' and workers' organisations on this subject, the Office does not feel able to take the responsibility for submitting to the Conference (point 15) a text definitely advocating the adoption, under international regulations, of systems of employment centres such as already exist in certain countries. On the other hand, as these national schemes may spread spontaneously, the Office has felt it necessary to suggest certain guarantees that should be observed if the system is not to be abused, and other measures which may render these centres as effective as possible.

In the first place, it seems desirable to recommend that attendance at employment centres should be voluntary for young persons. Some countries have made it, or are endeavouring to make it, compulsory—not only for young unemployed persons but for all young persons above a certain age. It is true that such a system relieves the labour market of a large number of young persons and might therefore, provided the products of the centres do not compete on the open market, be considered as a means of reducing unemployment very similar to the raising of the school-leaving age which the Conference is being asked to recommend. There is the difference, however, that the institution of a compulsory labour service for young persons between certain ages implies the introduction of such novel principles that the Office does not feel able to make any positive proposal, even hedged in with conditions, without consulting Governments. The institution suggested in the present Report, therefore, is based on the idea of a voluntary, and not a compulsory, labour service.

Nevertheless, it would seem advisable to accept the possibility of the service being made compulsory for young persons in receipt of unemployment benefit or relief. It will be recalled that Articles 8 and 9 of the Draft Convention adopted by the Conference at its Eighteenth Session provide that the right to receive benefit or an allowance may be made conditional upon attendance at a course of vocational or other instruction or upon the acceptance, under conditions prescribed by national laws or regulations, of employment on relief works organised by a public authority. The employment centres suggested in this Report may be taken as being intermediate between relief works and a course of vocational instruction. In this connection it might add clarity to the discussion if the Conference bore in mind the following clauses of the

Recommendation that was also adopted at the Eighteenth Session

“ 11 (a) The obligation to attend a course of vocational or other instruction permitted by the Draft Convention as a condition for the receipt of benefit or allowances should be imposed only if the unemployed person will derive an advantage therefrom either from the point of view of physical or mental well-being or of vocational or general capabilities

“ (b) When imposing on an unemployed person an obligation to accept employment on relief works, account should be taken of his age, health, previous occupation and suitability for the employment in question

“ (c) Only works of an exceptional and temporary character, organised by the public authority by means of funds specially allocated for the relief of the unemployed, should be considered as relief works ”

For all these reasons the Office proposes (point 16) that the possibility of making attendance at a special employment centre compulsory should be restricted to the case of young persons between the ages of 18 and 25 in receipt of unemployment benefit or of an allowance. It should be laid down (point 17) that attendance at a centre should cease as soon as the unemployed person has obtained normal employment or has reached a certain age not exceeding 25. As all young persons are not physically able to live and work in an employment centre, their admission should be preceded by a medical examination (point 18). Steps should also be taken (point 19) to see that the hygienic conditions of the centres are good.

There is no gainsaying that if young persons are to live an organised life in common some disciplinary rules are essential. In this connection, it seems desirable to recommend (point 20) that the discipline, instead of being imposed from above, as is usually the case in military formations, should be applied as far as possible spontaneously by the young people themselves. If these centres are to have a truly educative value, it must be remembered that one of the gravest consequences of unemployment that has to be fought is the loss of all sense of personal responsibility among young persons who are out of work for a long time. This sense can hardly be regained under a system of passive obedience, but it can be effectively restored if the groups of young persons are called upon to exercise self-government. A question which arises at this point is the desirability of preventing the centres from becoming centres of military training (point 21). The Office has even avoided as far as possible

the term "labour camp", which at once evokes other military terminology, and has used as a substitute the expression "employment centre", which is analogous to the phrase "vocational training centres" used above. When the centres are residential, it is desirable that facilities be given for the young unemployed to keep in touch with their families and for that purpose the centres should be established as near as possible to the districts from which their members are drawn (point 22)

The greatest danger of an extensive labour service in employment centres for the special benefit of young persons is undoubtedly the possibility of competition on the open market. This can, it would seem, be obviated by stipulating, as is done in most of the existing national schemes, that the work done in the centres must be work that could not be done under normal trade conditions or which at any rate does not compete with work done in the district under normal conditions of employment or that the products must be intended for the use of the centres or of other unemployed persons (point 23)

Another point is that attendance at a centre should by no means be considered as a form of constraint or punishment, for it would thereby lose the desired educational value. In accordance with the usual practice, therefore, it should be provided (point 24) that young persons in employment centres should receive not only food, and possibly accommodation and working clothes, but also some cash remuneration, part of which may be placed to the credit of the person concerned and handed to him at the end of his course.

The problem of the participation of these young persons in the benefits of social insurance is one that has generally received attention. The Office suggests that the matter should therefore be mentioned in the international regulations (point 25) by proposing that the social insurance contributions required by national legislation of workers in employment should be paid by the centres on behalf of the persons they employ. With regard to industrial accidents (point 26), it may be well to provide for the cases in which insurance is not compulsory, by recommending that the risk be covered by an insurance policy taken out by the centre or else directly by the public authorities who organise the centre acting as their own insurers.

The desire to give the centres an educative character can be linked up with the necessity for preventing them from competing with workers in regular normal employment. With this in view,

the programmes of existing centres provide for comparatively short hours of actual work, leaving sufficient time for general or vocational training and for leisure. The Office therefore proposes (point 27) that a clause to this effect be included in the international regulations.

It is on account of the two desiderata just mentioned that it is advisable for the centres to be organised, or at least supervised, by the public authorities (point 28). This is prescribed in the existing national regulations, which generally also contain rules for the selection and training of those who take charge of the centres. The Office proposes that the same be done in the international regulations (point 29). Those who manage employment centres must have a sound knowledge of social question and of the problems peculiar to youth. In centres for girls, the majority of the staff will naturally be women, but it was felt desirable to mention the point. Again, with a view to maintaining and strengthening the sense of personal responsibility, the Office suggests that the intermediate staff be chosen from among the young unemployed persons, and that as far as possible the principle of co-operative management should be applied.

In order to obtain the fullest educational effect from the centres and avoid the dangers already mentioned, the Office feels that it would be well to follow the practice of certain countries and recommend (point 30) that wherever such centres exist a national supervisory board should be set up, comprising representatives of employers' and workers' organisations and of the various public bodies responsible for placing, public works, agriculture, hygiene, education, etc., and including a certain number of women, who are specially competent to deal with matters affecting young persons.

As residence in a centre is essentially only temporary, there must be close collaboration between the centres and the public employment service (point 31), not only as regards the selection of young persons for the centres but still more with a view to finding normal employment for them when they leave. In some countries young persons who have attended centres are given priority when vacancies occur, in other countries efforts are made to keep alive the team spirit fostered during their stay in the centre. The Office proposes (point 32) to follow this lead by recommending that young persons leaving employment centres should be encouraged to form co-operative groups for engaging in land settlement, public works or handicrafts. Thus they would not depend for employment entirely

on the notification of vacancies by a few employers but would be helped by the authorities to create openings for themselves

#### (5) PLACING AND DEVELOPMENT OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR NORMAL EMPLOYMENT

The public employment services—for which provision was made in the Unemployment Convention of 1919, now ratified by thirty States—have a very important part to play in assisting young workers to find normal employment as soon as it is available. The experience of many countries goes to show that it is particularly useful for these services to have a special department for young people, or, more exactly, for juveniles, since after the age of 18 there is no point in specialisation by age, which should then be superseded by specialisation by trade or occupation. There are, however, certain problems connected with the placing of juveniles that do not arise, or arise in a different form, in the case of adult workers (point 33). A juvenile who has never been in employment has to select an occupation, and his first choice may not be his final one, for unemployment may supervene during his first year or two in the occupation, and this may be an indication that he has been guided along a false track and should change. Consequently, employment exchanges for juveniles should have, as part of their organisation, a vocational guidance service, or should at least work in close collaboration with such a service, which would discover the aptitudes and defects of the worker, while the exchange knows the state of the market and the prospects in various occupations. In the opinion of the Office, the international regulations would be quite inadequate if they did not make a recommendation of this kind (point 34).

But as it was impossible for the Office to deal thoroughly with the organisation of vocational guidance in this study, and as it is closely linked up with that of vocational training, which the Conference will probably wish to discuss at a later Session, it is suggested that in the meantime the Conference should simply recommend that there be close touch between employment exchanges and vocational guidance services, and that the practical organisation of the latter services should be referred to in a draft Resolution on vocational training, to which reference has already been made.

The Office feels, on the other hand, that the Conference should immediately condemn, in connection with unemployment among

young persons, the pernicious effects of placing juveniles in employment which, by its nature, cannot last for more than two or three years at most and then leaves the young persons stranded with no training for any adult occupation. It is certainly desirable that the public employment services should make systematic efforts to keep juveniles out of such blind-alley jobs, the result of which is that a great many of these workers are condemned to casual employment for the remainder of their lives.

The efficiency of an employment service will be increased, and will in particular be in a better position to transfer young workers who are unemployed in depressed areas, where they have no chance of employment, to more prosperous areas, if it has a complete record of the demand for and supply of labour. Generally speaking, the view held up to the present in most countries has been that such a *de facto* monopoly should, if possible, be arrived at without any recourse to compulsion, at least as regards offers of employment. With regard to the supply of labour, the existence of more and more far-reaching insurance or relief schemes already makes it compulsory in most cases for unemployed workers to register with an employment exchange. But on the employers' side, the exchanges generally rely on their applying voluntarily to the exchanges for the workers they require. It is held that it is in the employers' interest to do so, but at the same time there are some strong arguments in favour of making notification compulsory in the case of vacancies suitable for juveniles. Such a measure would seem to be particularly necessary in order to ensure adequate co-ordination between vocational guidance, based on the study of personal qualifications, and placing, which has to take account of economic prospects and prevent young persons from rushing thoughtlessly into overcrowded or declining occupations. This question is laid before the Conference in the form of a recommendation (point 35) that it be made compulsory for employers to notify the public employment services of all vacancies and of all juveniles engaged without reference to the public employment exchanges.

The purpose of this last recommendation is to facilitate the application of another measure (point 36) to which reference must now be made. In the case of an adult worker, the employment exchange has done its part when it has brought the worker into touch with a possible employer and noted that he has been taken on. With a juvenile the situation is not quite the same. He may have even more need of special assistance and protection after



his engagement than before it. The employment service must have means of assuring itself that the employment is really suitable, if it is not, it should intervene, either requesting the employer to make certain changes or else finding employment for the young persons in some other job offering more scope for the worker's future career. This work of supervision is often entrusted to representatives of vocational guidance or apprenticeship committees or other similar bodies. It is clear that close collaboration is necessary between the employment services for juveniles and all the other institutions of various kinds dealing with young workers.

But placing implies the existence of vacancies. It was pointed out above that the present Report cannot deal with the various economic measures calculated to restore the lost balance between productive capacity and the demand for goods, thus providing employment for millions of all ages who are now out of work. Reference was, however, made to certain expedients for ensuring a better distribution of the available volume of employment and opportunities for a larger number of young persons. In the first place account should be taken of the openings which exist in most countries in certain new industries, measures should be taken (point 37) to divert young persons, who are unable to obtain employment in depressed areas where certain industries seem destined to a long if not a permanent decline, to the new industries and to transfer them to districts in which these industries are situated.

Moreover, reference should also be made to the importance of enabling young persons to gain practical experience at the outset of their careers in industrial or other undertakings. It is often desirable that this experience be obtained in a foreign country and it is suggested that the Conference should recommend (point 37) Governments to conclude bilateral agreements providing for an international exchange of student employees.

In some countries the view is taken that the available vacancies should be given preferably, not to young persons, but to workers with family responsibilities. Employment is then found in the centres described above for young persons who cannot be placed in less overcrowded occupations. Such a policy has obvious social advantages, but the Office does not feel able to advocate it as being among the measures calculated to reduce unemployment among young persons. Moreover, while unemployment is more serious, for a variety of material and moral reasons, for the head of a family than for a young unmarried man, there are other moral,

and more especially psychological, considerations that render the consequences of unemployment graver in some respects for a juvenile than for an adult. The latter has a certain part of his occupational career behind him and will have less difficulty in resisting the insidious influences of idleness than a young person whose character may be unfavourably affected for life by the prolonged lack of employment immediately after leaving school.

In the case of juveniles, it is true, there is the possibility of extending the period of attendance at the elementary school and developing the system of vocational training, as suggested in one of the points of the proposed Recommendation, so as to give preference to young adults for such vacancies as exist. It is also true that, for this latter group, special employment centres can be set up. But no matter what educational measures may be combined with the work in these centres so as to develop the character of the young people, it is improbable that anything can ever replace, for young people of 18 years or over who have been trained for a trade, the education that normal life and voluntary work in that trade can give, no substitute can develop in the same way their moral character and their occupational gifts.

In this connection it is perhaps gratifying to reflect that on the whole unemployment is less widespread among young persons than among older workers, although this is probably due less to consideration for the moral dangers just referred to than to the desire to employ cheaper labour.

However that may be, the whole question is so complex that the Office does not feel able to submit to the Conference a draft recommending internationally a systematic distribution of employment between young adults and heads of families. The former can hardly be given preference over the latter, and yet it is questionable whether it is always desirable to make young workers give up their posts to older ones, for such a policy may endanger the future of the trades affected.

On the other hand, a distribution of the available employment among young unemployed persons seems desirable. Such a distribution might aim at reducing full-time unemployment, either by organising a system of rotation for young workers (point 38) or by applying more especially to young workers (point 39) the reduction in the normal hours of work which has already been recognised by the Conference as being, in principle, desirable as a remedy against unemployment generally.

A final problem that is considered is the lowering of the

retiring age for older workers so as to make way for younger ones. The Conference already took a decision on this point at its Seventeenth Session, when it included the following clause in its Recommendation concerning invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance

“ 11 For insurance schemes which fix the pensionable age above 60 it is recommended, as a means of relieving the labour market and of ensuring rest for the aged, that the pensionable age should be reduced to 60, in so far as the demographic, economic and financial situation of the country permit, and if necessary by stages ”

There would therefore be no need to return to the question here were it not for the purpose of referring to the retirement of public officials, which does not seem to be covered by the above text and which is of great importance for young persons waiting for posts in administrative services. On the basis of the text just quoted, the Office proposes (point 40) to recommend that the retiring age for public officials be progressively lowered to 60 years wherever it is still above that figure. For the same purpose of making room for young unemployed persons, it is proposed that public officials be precluded from holding two or more posts simultaneously

#### (6) STATISTICS

There is presumably no need to emphasise the importance, as a basis for effective action, of knowing as accurately as possible the exact extent and the incidence of unemployment among young persons. Good statistics will be most useful in appreciating the desirability and relative importance of the various measures suggested in the preceding points

It is obvious that the best sources of statistical information concerning the unemployment of young persons are the same as for unemployment in general, it is simply a question of classifying the information by age groups, so that juveniles and other young persons can be distinguished from older workers. It would therefore seem desirable to recommend (point 41) that unemployment insurance institutions, public employment services and other institutions for combating unemployment should classify young unemployed persons separately in their statistics, a distinction being made between juveniles under 18 and young persons from 18 to 24 years inclusive, since the problems arising out of the lack of employment for those

two groups cannot be dealt with in the same way. As the statistics of these institutions generally conform to the principles laid down by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1925 in that they are classified according to the sex and the trade or occupation of the insured person, the same classification could be easily introduced for young unemployed persons

One special difficulty arises as regards the occupation of unemployed young persons who have never had any wage-paid employment but have been unemployed ever since leaving school. They might be grouped under a heading "No occupation", but that might not be entirely satisfactory. Some of those young persons who have never been in employment may have attended a vocational school and been trained for a definite occupation, while others may have come straight from the elementary school without any vocational training, but they may, nevertheless, incline definitely towards a certain occupation because of heredity, environment or particular aptitude. In so far as these circumstances could be shown in a statistical survey, it would certainly be desirable to have the information. It is therefore proposed that a distinction be made between young persons who have already been in paid employment and those who have not, showing, for the latter group, the occupation for which they have been trained or in which they desire employment.

It will probably not always be possible to give all those details in the current statistics of unemployment insurance institutions, employment exchanges, etc. In that case it is proposed (point 42) that special enquiries should be instituted from time to time, these might be still more detailed and cover other points, such as the duration of unemployment or the previous history of the young unemployed.

In addition to current statistics and special enquiries, a further valuable source of statistical information that should not be overlooked is to be found in the general census of the population. It is true that observations separated by intervals of five or ten years cannot throw very much light on a phenomenon that changes so rapidly as unemployment, but the general census has this advantage over current statistics and special enquiries, that it covers the whole population. In this respect it is a useful supplement to the other sources of information, providing the basis for a comparison between their partial figures and the general picture provided by the census. It has therefore been thought desirable to recommend (point 43) that where the general censuses of the population are

used for numbering the unemployed population, care should be taken to classify the results, not only by occupation and sex but also by age, so that a distinction can be made, more particularly, between those under 18 and those of from 18 to 24 years of age.

## II. — DRAFT RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG PERSONS

The Conference,

Recalling that it has on several occasions drawn the attention of Governments to the economic measures that should be adopted as a remedy for the general depression, as a result of which large numbers of workers are unemployed,

Considering that this unemployment continues and affects a large number of young persons, whose involuntary idleness may undermine their characters, diminish their occupational skill, and menace the future development of the nations,

Considering that many countries have adopted emergency measures to remedy a situation the gravity of which has rightly alarmed public opinion,

Recommends, in the light of the experience already gained in this field, that each Member should apply the following principles and should submit to the International Labour Office a report stating the extent to which and manner in which the said principles have been applied

### SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE, AGE FOR ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT; GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

1 The minimum age for leaving school and being admitted to employment should, without prejudice to its being raised still higher as soon as circumstances allow, be fixed now at not less than 15 years

2 (1) Juveniles over the school-leaving age who are unable to find suitable employment should, where the organisation of the school allows, be required to continue full-time attendance at school until suitable employment is available for them

(2) For the purpose of this principle the term "suitable" refers primarily to the continuity of the employment and to future prospects therein

(3) For the purpose of applying this principle there should be close co-operation between the education and placing authorities

3. The curricula for juveniles whose period of school attendance

is prolonged by the application of the above principles should be designed primarily to improve their general education, but should also constitute a general training for manual work

4 (1) Measures should be adopted to encourage juveniles with the necessary aptitudes to attend full-time secondary or technical schools the regular curricula of which extend beyond the minimum school-leaving age

(2) Exemption from the payment of fees or the reduction of fees would be suitable methods of applying this principle

5 Juveniles who are no longer in full-time attendance at school should, until they reach the age of 18, be required to attend continuation courses providing a combination of general and vocational education

6 (1) Where such attendance is not compulsory for all juveniles it should at least be made compulsory for unemployed juveniles who should be required to attend for a prescribed number of hours every day or, where this is not possible, for a prescribed number of hours every week.

(2) In districts in which there is a sufficient number of unemployed juveniles, special courses should be organised for them

(3) Measures should be taken to enable juveniles who have attended courses organised in accordance with the preceding paragraphs to continue attendance if possible after having found work

7. There should be organised for unemployed persons between the ages of 18 and 25 vocational training centres in which some provision is made for general education. Whether these centres are to be residential or non-residential should be decided according to circumstances

8 (1) The programmes of such centres should include, in addition to practical subjects, general courses of vocational interest and of local, national or international interest

(2) The persons responsible for giving the courses at such centres should be suitably remunerated and should be selected with special care, as far as possible from among suitably qualified unemployed young persons.

9. (1) Any unemployed young person unable to show good cause for his having refused to attend a course or centre which he is required to attend in application of principles 6 or 7 should be disqualified for the receipt of unemployment benefit and allowances.

(2) Persons attending such course or centre should be allowed supplementary grants to cover their travelling and other necessary expenses

10 The case of persons unable to secure employment on the termination of secondary, technical or higher studies should be dealt with as follows

(a) Measures should be adopted to enable them to complete their theoretical training by obtaining practical experience in industrial, commercial and other undertakings,

- (b) Steps should be taken, by such methods as the provision of free courses and of study and research scholarships, to facilitate their continued attendance at the institution where they terminated their studies or at some other institution for general or vocational education,
- (c) Measures should be adopted to divert such persons from overcrowded occupations and to counteract all prejudices which keep them out of manual occupations

11. Special measures should be adopted to train a qualified staff for educational, recreational, social service and employment centres for the young unemployed. It would be appropriate for such training to be given in special centres to which unemployed young persons with the necessary qualifications are admitted

#### RECREATIONAL AND SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE YOUNG UNEMPLOYED

12 (1) Measures for promoting the general and vocational education of the young unemployed should be accompanied by measures to facilitate the useful and agreeable utilisation of their spare time such as the establishment of recreational centres, physical training centres, reading rooms, etc

(2) Such centres should not be reserved for the use of the unemployed but should also, with a view to avoiding any systematic separation of employed and unemployed, be open to young employed

(3) Such centres should be under the supervision of a qualified person, but it would be valuable for them to be organised as co-operative institutions with programmes arranged by the young unemployed

(4) Recreational centres might usefully encourage the young unemployed to do small jobs, such as boot and shoe repairing and the repairing of clothes for their own use and that of their families, and might provide training in other work which will enable the young unemployed to help in improving their homes

13 In districts where there is a sufficient number of young unemployed, measures should be taken to establish social service centres and hostels where they can obtain board and lodging at low cost

#### ACTION BY TRADE ORGANISATIONS AND PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS

14 The public authorities should assist educational and other social services for the young unemployed organised by trade organisations and other associations

## SPECIAL EMPLOYMENT CENTRES

15 Where it is considered desirable to establish, for unemployed persons between the ages of 18 and 24 inclusive, employment centres the principal object of which is not to give vocational training but to provide work under conditions other than normal conditions of employment, adequate safeguards should be adopted to prevent these abnormal conditions resulting in abuses

16 Subject to it being permissible to make the grant of unemployment benefit or allowances conditional upon attendance at such a centre, attendance at employment centres should be strictly voluntary

17. No person should continue to attend at an employment centre after he has found normal employment or reached a prescribed age, which should in no case be higher than 25 years

18 No person should be admitted to an employment centre unless he has been medically examined and found physically fit for the work proposed for him

19 The strictest hygienic conditions should prevail in all centres

20 Special attention should be devoted to living conditions and discipline. The organisation of the centres should as far as possible be such as to enable the young unemployed to govern themselves, particularly as regards discipline

21 Every care should be taken to prevent employment centres from becoming institutions for military training

22 In order to enable the young persons to maintain regular contact with their families, centres should be as near to their homes as circumstances permit

23 (1) The work programmes of the centres should be such as to avoid competition by the centres with workers in normal employment

(2) Centres should only undertake work which under prevailing economic conditions would not be carried out by workers in normal employment, e.g. manufacturing and other work for the benefit of the centres or other unemployed persons

(3) In so far as possible, the work provided should be appropriate to the age, sex, strength and occupation of the persons concerned

24 The remuneration of persons employed at centres should include, in addition to board, clothing and, where this is provided, lodging, a cash payment, part of which might be placed to the credit of the person concerned and transferred to him when he leaves the centre

25 Persons employed at centres should be admitted to social insurance schemes and the contributions due in respect of them should be payable by the centres



26 Where there is no general scheme of compulsory accident compensation insurance, centres should, unless directly organised by public authorities which act as their own insurance carriers, cover their compensation liability by insurance

27 (1) With a view to the inclusion in the programmes of centres of adequate provision for general education, vocational training, games, sports and free time, the time spent on productive work should be considerably less than forty hours per week

(2) Centres should have libraries

28 Centres should normally be organised and always be supervised by the public authorities

29 (1) There should be detailed regulations for the training and selection of the staff of centres, and members of centre staffs should have a thorough knowledge of social questions generally and of the problems of youth in particular

(2) The staff of centres specially organised for young women should consist chiefly of women

(3) Intermediate posts should in all possible cases be reserved for persons in attendance at the centres who are found to be suitably qualified

(4) Though each centre should be under the supervision of a qualified person, it would be appropriate for centres to be organised as co-operative institutions directed by the young unemployed persons

30 (1) A central supervisory council should be instituted for the purpose of general supervision over the employment centre system

(2) The central supervisory council should include representatives of the most representative organisations of workpeople and employers and of the public departments responsible for placing, public works, agriculture, public health, safety, education and other aspects of the welfare of the young

(3) Among these representatives there should be a certain number of women

31 The central supervisory council or some other appropriate body should collaborate closely with the public employment exchanges with a view to placing in normal employment the persons attending the centres

32 Measures should be taken to develop team spirit among the persons attending the centres and to encourage them to form co-operative working groups for employment on land settlement schemes, public works, handicrafts, etc.

#### PLACING AND DEVELOPMENT OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR NORMAL EMPLOYMENT

33 The national system of public employment exchanges should include special services, both local and central, for the placing of juveniles under eighteen years of age

34 Special placing services for juveniles should.

- (a) Either include a vocational guidance department or be co-ordinated with independent bodies for vocational guidance, and
- (b) Seek to avoid placing juveniles in occupations in which they have no future prospects

35 Employers should be required to notify the local placing service for juveniles of vacancies for juveniles below 18 years of age and of any engagements of such juveniles which they have made without recourse to the placing service

36 Special placing services for juveniles should be required

- (a) To supervise, in co-operation with vocational guidance services, apprenticeship committees and similar bodies, the results of the placings made, and to change such placings whenever this is desirable to secure for the person concerned the best prospects in an occupation corresponding to his qualifications, and
- (b) To maintain close relations with all other public and private institutions interested in young persons and notably with the education authorities.

37. Measures should be taken to transfer to expanding occupations and to districts in which such occupations are carried on young persons who are without employment in districts where the principal industries appear to be in permanent decline

38 Governments should conclude agreements for the purpose of facilitating the international exchange of student employees

39. In periods of severe unemployment, the system of sharing out normal work in rotation should be applied particularly to young workers

40 Present attempts to promote re-employment by a reduction in ordinary hours of work should be pursued with special vigour in respect of employment in which young persons engage

41. With a view to increasing the number of posts for young persons in administrative careers.

- (a) The pensionable age of public officials should, where it is higher than 60 years, be reduced to that limit by degrees, and
- (b) Public officials should be prohibited from holding more than one post

## STATISTICS

42 Unemployment insurance institutions, public employment exchanges, and other institutions which compile unemployment

statistics, should include in their statistics figures showing the extent of unemployment among persons below the age of 25.

These figures should be classified so as to show the distribution of such unemployment.

- (a) according to sex,
- (b) according to age, juveniles (persons under 18 years of age) and other young persons (persons between the ages of 18 and 24 inclusive) being classified separately
- (c) according to occupation, persons who have never been in paid employment being classified separately. It would be appropriate to classify such persons according to the occupation for which they have been trained or in which they have applied for employment

43 Where regular unemployment statistics do not exist and for the purpose of supplementing such statistics, special enquiries should be made from time to time with a view to obtaining the above information and complementary information upon such matters as the length of unemployment and occupational history of the persons concerned

44 Where the general census returns include information concerning unemployment, the returns should be analysed for the purpose of obtaining in so far as possible the information referred to in principle 42

### III. — DRAFT RESOLUTION<sup>1</sup>

The Conference,

Having considered the problem of unemployment among young persons and having recommended Governments to apply different measures including in particular—

- (a) the fixing at 15 of the minimum compulsory school-leaving age and the minimum age for admission to employment,
- (b) the development of technical education, and
- (c) the setting up of vocational guidance services attached to or in co-operation with the public employment exchanges,

Is of opinion that these measures concern not only unemployed young persons but all young workers,

---

<sup>1</sup> See Commentary, pp 164, 166, and 176

And requests the Governing Body to consider urgently the desirability of placing on the agenda of an early Session of the Conference.

(1) the revision of the Conventions fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment (1919), to employment at sea (1920), to employment in agriculture (1921) and to non-industrial employment (1932) with a view to raising the age from 14 as laid down in those Conventions to 15, and

(2) the question of vocational guidance, apprenticeship and technical education of young workers

1 1  

---